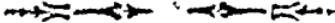





**SPEECHES AND WRITINGS**  
**OF**  
**M. K. GANDHI**



**AUTHORISED**  
**UP-TO-DATE AND COMPREHENSIVE**  
**COLLECTION**



**FIRST EDITION .**  
**G. A. NATESAN & Co, MADRAS**  
**PRICE RE. 1-8**

I do not like the term "passive resistance," it fails to convey all I mean. It describes a method, but gives no hint of the system of which it is only part. *Real beauty, and that is my aim, is in doing good against evil.*—Mr Gandhi to the Rev Doke

## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

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This is the first attempt to bring under one cover an authorised, exhaustive and up-to-date collection of the speeches and writings of Mr. M. K. Gandhi. The subject matter has been arranged under six sections. The first section, dealing with the "South African Indian Question," opens with a lengthy account of the history of the grievances of Indians in South Africa as narrated by Mr. Gandhi in the first great speech he made at Mafias as early as 1896. This is followed by his notable pronouncements and contributions made from time to time during the successive stages of that prolonged and terrific struggle. The second section dealing with the position of "Indians in the Colonies" contains his views on questions relating to Reciprocity between India and the Dominions, Indian and European Emigrants, Indentured Labour and Indian Colonial Emigration. The third section which deals with "Passive Resistance" contains his observations on his theory of soul force as a factor in public life. Mr. Gandhi describes the origin of this idea and the need for its application to the Indian problem in South Africa, and there are besides important contributions on the Genesis of Passive Resistance, the Gains of the Passive Resistance Struggle, and the Theory and Practice of Passive Resistance and numerous other essays on politics and ethics. In section four we have Mr. Gandhi's long, touching and vivid account of his three jail experiences. The fifth is devoted to "Indian Problems" and contains articles and addresses on such topics as "The Duties of British Citizenship,"

# M. K. GANDHI.

This is a Sketch of the Life of Mr M K Gandhi, one of the most eminent and self-sacrificing men that Modern India has produced. It describes the early days of Mr M K Gandhi's life, his mission and work in South Africa, his character, his strivings, and his hopes. A perusal of this Sketch gives a peculiar insight into the springs of action that have impelled this remarkable and saintly man to surrender every material thing in life for the sake of an ideal that he ever essays to realise, and will be a source of inspiration to those who understand that statesmanship, moderation, and selflessness are the greatest qualities of a patriot. The Sketch contains an illuminating investigation into the true nature of passive resistance by Mr Gandhi, which may be taken as an authoritative expression of the spirit of the memorable South African Indian struggle.

*WITH A PORTRAIT OF MR GANDHI*  
PRICE FOUR ANNAS

C. A. NATAN & CO., PUBLISHERS, MADRAS

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Most of the Indians' trusted my word, and submitted themselves to imprisonment. If the advice that I happened to offer them were erroneous how much sin I would be committing in the eyes of God in tendering it to them. They underwent all sorts of hardships on account of that advice. With this thought in my mind, I heaved a deep sigh. With God as my witness, I reflected on the subject once more, and was immediately reassured that it was all right. I felt that the advice that I tendered to them was the only advice that I could under the circumstances

*It at once occurred to me that it was more honourable for anybody to die suffering in that manner, than to continue living a life of perpetual enslavement — From Jail Experiences*

*The British Empire has certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and honour and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire, as it is not true of any other Government.* Speech at the Madras Law Dinner

## A WORD OF TRIBUTE

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It is hardly possible for any Indian to mention Mr. Gandhi's name without deep emotion and pride. The name reminds us of the noble and inestimable services which this singularly great man,—“Saint, Martyr and Patriot”—has rendered to his country. It recalls to our mind the story of the sufferings of thousands of our countrymen in South Africa. It recalls also how, at a supreme moment in the South African Indian struggle, Mr. Gandhi, for the first time perhaps in the history of the world, resolved to employ the weapon of passive resistance to win the struggle into which he and his countrymen had thrown themselves heart and soul. It was a bold, unprecedented step which Mr. Gandhi took at the moment. He and his countrymen were to fight not with vituperation, not with violence, not with organised riots and revolution, but with the strength of soul-force. The soul-force of Indians was pitted against the brute-force of the white population in South Africa. Indians who joined the struggle in hundreds and thousands refused to obey the law and suffered in their own persons, the consequences of such disobedience, and the spectacle afforded India and the world a magnificent example of self-denial and suffering for the sake of a peaceful and orderly agitation. For years the struggle went on, oftentimes under the most desperate conditions, and yet not one of the Indians was accused of using violence of any sort or employing methods of which he need be ashamed. And throughout, it was a magnificent and heroic struggle.

for right and for justice, and success was bound to attend on it in the end. It was a sight for the Gods.

Mr Gandhi and his brave band have succeeded in removing the racial bar, have asserted the rights of Indians in South Africa to be consulted on all matters affecting their welfare and more than all have made the authorities remember that an Asiatic has rights and that the British Indian subject carries with him the elementary rights of British citizenship, and even a selfish band of Colonials are bound to respect them to some extent at least. Mr Gandhi, who twenty years ago was hated and despised by the white population in South Africa, is now an object of veneration everywhere. He fought so hard and so steadfastly and yet so constitutionally. In his hands and in the hands of the handful of Indians who were living in far off South Africa, was the honour and self-respect of their Motherland. They have fought for it, suffered for it and preserved it untarnished. Aye, they have added to its glory. It is difficult to single out from the great and noble patriots of this land of ours, living or dead, any who can be said to equal Mr Gandhi. Patriots there have been and patriots there will be. It would be no exaggeration to say that of no one can it be said except Mr Gandhi that in him patriotism has been a living faith, patriotism has been the real abnegation of the self and the surrender of all that is most near and dear to men in this world.

For the great cause of which he was the representative no suffering was too great to be borne. Was it necessary for the leader to go to jail, for the vindication of justice? Mr Gandhi was ready. Inside and outside the prison walls, under conditions the most cruel and humiliating, he showed the stuff of which

heroes are made. Was it necessary that an Indian woman should follow the example? His honoured spouse was ready. Was it necessary that young boys should also follow the lead? Mr Gandhi's sons obeyed the call of duty. Mr Gandhi, a high caste Hindu, the son of a Prime-Minister of a great Native State, the thriving barrister, a man who had enjoyed all the comforts and luxuries of the world, had sacrificed his practice, his profession, his health, his wealth, his fortune, and everything at the altar of his country's cause and borne cheerfully even the felon's fetters for maintaining the honour and self-respect of his Motherland.

The thousands of Indians who obeyed him readily without a murmur and who were ready to follow him wherever he desired were not educated in any sense of the word. They were poor men, born of the people, brought up among the people, pursuing their peaceful and humble avocations among the people—as barbers, washermen, hawkers and traders. Neither B A's nor M A's of our Universities, knowing nothing of the liberalism of Lord Morley, the radicalism of John Stuart Mill, or even of the advanced socialism of Mr Lloyd George, and indeed never having read a single syllable about the elementary rights of man or of liberty, equality and fraternity, at the call of duty and under the guidance of a singularly noble soul, they were ready to throw themselves into a struggle which involved untold sufferings and unmentionable humiliations. Several homes were rendered desolate, several trading concerns were closed or completely ruined. And yet nothing could daunt them, nothing could prevent them from pursuing the path of duty which had been pointed out to them by their honoured leader. Long, trying and painful was their suffering and yet how

willingly, how cheerfully, they bore it all? They fought, they resolutely and bravely fought for the honour and the good name of their race and their country. All honour therefore to Mr Gandhi who "has moulded heroes out of clay." And even if the cause of the South African Indians had utterly failed and their heroic campaign had proved futile, the legacy of the great spiritual asset given by Mr Gandhi to his countrymen will be a proud possession indeed. As the late Mr Gokhale observed of him, "a purer, a nobler, a braver and a more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth. Mr Gandhi is one of those men, who, living an austere simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principles of love to their fellow-beings and to truth and justice, touch the eyes of their weaker brethren as with magic and give them a new vision. He is a man who may be well described as a man among men, a hero among heroes, a patriot amongst patriots, and we may well say that in him, Indian humanity at the present time has really reached its high water mark." Surely some will hearken to the message of such a man.

G A NATESAN

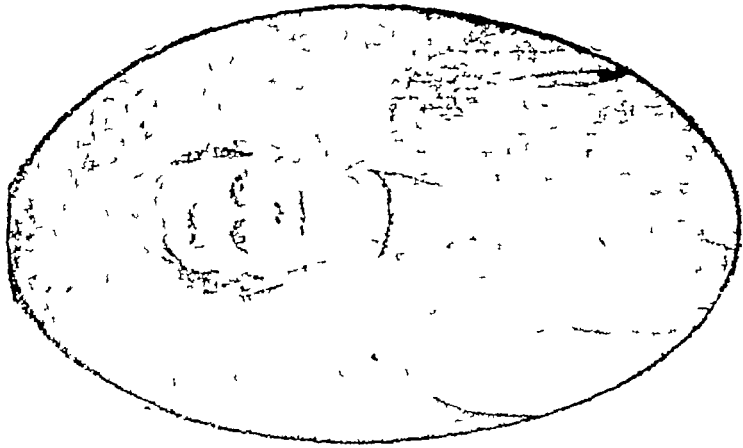
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M. K. GANDHI



TOLSTOY



THE REV. C F ANDREWS



THE BISHOP OF MADRAS

# THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN QUESTION

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## THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE

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*The following is the full text of a lecture delivered at the Pachayappa's Hall, Madras, on October 26, 1896, by Mr M. K. Gandhi on the "Grievances of Indian settlers in South Africa. The Hon Mr P. Ananda Charlu presided. Resolutions sympathising with the Indian settlers and expressing regret at the action of the Home and Indian Governments in having assented to the Indian Immigration Amendment Bill were passed. Mr Gandhi said —*

Mr President and Gentlemen,—I am to plead before you this evening for the 100,000 British Indians in South Africa, the land of gold and the seat of the late Jameson Raid. This document will show you (here Mr Gandhi read a credential from the people of Natal deputing him to plead their cause) that I have been deputed to do so by the signatories to it who profess to represent the 100,000 Indians. A large majority of this number are people from Madras and Bengal. Apart, therefore, from the interest that you would take in them as Indians, you are specially interested in the matter.

South Africa may, for our purposes, be divided into the two self-governing British Colonies of Natal and the Cape of Good Hope, the Crown Colony of Zululand, the Transvaal or the South African Republic, the Orange Free State, the Chartered territories and the Portuguese territories comprising Delagoa Bay and Beira.

South Africa is indebted to the Colony of Natal for the presence of the Indian population there. In

1860, when in the words of a member of the Natal Parliament, "the existence of the Colony hung in the balance," the Colony of Natal introduced indentured Indians into the Colony. Such immigration is regulated by law, is permissible only to a few favoured States, *e.g.*, Mauritius, Fiji, Jamaica, Straits Settlements, Damarara and other States and is allowed only from Madras and Calcutta. As a result of the immigration, in the words of another eminent Natalian, Mr Saunders, "Indian immigration brought prosperity, prices rose, people were no longer content to grow or sell produce for a song, they could do better." The sugar and tea industries as well as sanitation and the vegetable and fish supply of the Colony are absolutely dependent on the indentured Indians from Madras and Calcutta. The presence of the indentured Indians about sixteen years ago drew the free Indians in the shape of traders who first went there with a view to supply the wants of their own kith and kin, but afterwards found a very valuable customer in the native of South Africa, called Zulu or Kulu. These traders are chiefly drawn from the Bombay Memon Mahomedans and owing to their less unfortunate position have formed themselves into custodians of the interests of the whole Indian population there. Thus, adversity and identity of interests have united in a compact body the Indians from the three Presidencies and they take pride in calling themselves Indians rather than Madriseses or Bengalees or Gujaraees, except when it is necessary to do so. That however by the way.

The Indians have now spread all over South Africa. Natal which is governed by a Legislative Assembly consisting of 37 members elected by the electors, a Legislative Council consisting of 11 members,

nominated by the Governor who represents the Queen, and a movable Ministry consisting of 5 members, contains a European population of 50,000, a native population of 400,000, and an Indian population of 51,000. Of the 51,000 Indians about 16,000 are at present serving their indenture, 30,000 are those that have completed their indenture, and are now variously engaged as domestic servants, gardeners, hawkers and petty traders and, about 5,000 are those who emigrated to the Colony on their own account and are either traders, shop-keepers' assistants or hawkers. A few are also school-masters, interpreters and clerks.

The self governing Colony of the Cape of Good Hope has, I believe, an Indian population of about 10,000 consisting of traders, hawkers and labourers. Its total population is nearly 1,500,000 of whom not more than 400,000 are Europeans. The rest are natives of the country and Malays.

The South African Republic or the Transvaal which is governed by two elective Chambers called the Volksraad and an Executive with the President at its head has an Indian population of about 5,000 of whom about 200 are traders with liquidated assets amounting to nearly £100,000. The rest are hawkers and waiters or household servants, the latter being men from this Presidency. Its white population is estimated at roughly 120,000 and the Kaffir population at roughly 650,000. This Republic is subject to the Queen's suzerainty. And there is a convention between Great Britain and the Republic which secures the property, trading and farming rights of all persons other than natives of South Africa in common with the citizens of the Republic.

The other States have no Indian population to speak

of, because of the grievances and disabilities except the Portuguese territories which contain a very large Indian population and which do not give any trouble to the Indians

The grievances of the Indians in South Africa are twofold, *i.e.*, those that are due to the popular ill feeling against the Indians and, secondly, the legal disabilities placed upon them. To deal with the first, the Indian is the most hated being in South Africa. Every Indian without distinction is contemptuously called a "coolie." He is also called "Sammy," "Ramasawmy," anything but "Indian." Indian school-masters are called "coolie school masters." Indian storekeepers, are "coolie storekeepers." Two Indian gentlemen from Bombay, Messrs Dada Abdulla and Moos Hyjee Cassim, own steamers. Their steamers are "coolie ships."

There is a very respectable firm of Madras traders by name, A Colandaveloo Pillay & Co. They have built a large block of buildings in Durban, these buildings are called "coolie stores" and the owners are "coolie owners." And I can assure you, gentlemen, that there is as much difference between the partners of that firm and a "coolie" as there is between any one in this hall and a coolie. The railway and tram-officials, in spite of the contradiction that has appeared in official quarters which I am going to deal with presently, I repeat, treat us as beasts. We cannot safely walk on the foot paths. A Madras gentleman, especially dressed, always avoids the foot paths of prominent street in Durban for fear he should be insulted or pushed off.

"We are the 'Asian dirt' to be 'heartily cursed,' we are 'choleful of sight' 'and we live upon rice,' we are 'stinking' 'living on 'the smell of an oiled rag,' we are 'the

"black vermin," we are described in the Statute Books as "semi-barbarous Asiatics, or persons belonging to the uncivilised races of Asia" We "breed like rabbits" and a gentleman at a meeting lately held in Durban said he "was sorry we could not be shot like them" There are coaches running between certain places in the Transvaal We may not sit inside them It is a sore trial, apart from the indignity it involves and contemplates, to have to sit outside them either in deadly winter mornings, for the winter is severe in the Transvaal, or under a burning sun, though we are Indians. The hotels refuse us admission Indeed, there are cases in which respectable Indians have found it difficult even to procure refreshments at European places It was only a short time ago that a gang of Europeans set fire to an Indian Store in a village (*cries of shame*) called Dundee in Natal, doing some damage, and another gang threw burning crackers into the Indian stores in a business street in Durban This feeling of intense hatred has been reproduced into legislation in the various States of South Africa restricting the freedom of Indians in many ways To begin with, Natal, which is the most important from an Indian point of view, has of late shown the greatest activity in passing Indian legislation Till 1894 the Indians had been enjoying the franchise equally with the Europeans under the general franchise law of the Colony, which entitles any adult male being a British subject to be placed on the voters' list, who possesses immovable property worth £50 or pays an annual rent of £10 There is a separate franchise qualification for the Zulu In 1894, the Natal Legislature passed a Bill disfranchising Asiatics by name We resisted it in the Local Parliament but without any avail We then memorialised the Secretary of State for the Colonies and as a result

that bill was this year withdrawn and replaced by another which though not quite so bad as the first one, is bad enough. It says that no natives of countries (not being of European origin) which have not hitherto possessed elective representative institutions, founded on the Parliamentary Franchise, shall be placed on the voter's roll unless they shall first obtain an exemption from the Governor in Council. This bill excepts from its operation those whose names are already rightly contained in any voters' list. Before being introduced it was submitted to Mr Chamberlain who has approved of it. We have opposed it on the ground that we have such institutions in India, and that, therefore, the Bill will fail in its object if it is to disfranchise the Asiatics and that therefore also it is a harassing piece of legislation and is calculated to involve us in endless litigation and expense. This is admitted on all hands. The very members who voted for it thought likewise. The Natal Government organ says in effect

We know India has such institutions and therefore the bill will not apply to the Indians. But we can have that bill or none. If it disfranchises Indians, nothing can be better. If it does not then too we have nothing to fear! for the Indian can never gain political supremacy and if necessary, we can soon impose an educational test or raise the property qualification which, while disfranchising Indians wholesale, will not debar a single European from voting.

in the words of a member of the Natal Parliament, "to make the Indian's life more comfortable in his native land than in Natal," in the words of another eminent Natalian, "to keep him for ever a hewer of wood and drawer of water" The very fact that, at present, there are only 250 Indians as against nearly 10,000 European voters shows that there is no fear of the Indian vote swamping the European For a fuller history of the question, I must refer you to the Green Pamphlet The *London Times* which has uniformly supported us in our troubles, dealing with the franchise question in Natal, thus puts it in its issue of the 27th day of June of this year —

The question now put before Mr Chamberlain is not an academic one It is not a question of argument but of race feeling We cannot afford a war of races among our own subjects It would be a wrong for the Government of India to suddenly arrest the development of Natal by shutting all the supply of immigrants, as it would be for Natal to deny the right of citizenship to British Indian subjects, who, by years of thrift and good work in the Colony have raised themselves to the actual status of citizens

If there is any real danger of the Asiatic vote swamping the European, we should have no objection to an educational test being imposed or the property qualifications being raised What we object to is class legislation and the degradation which it necessarily involves We are fighting for no new privilege in opposing the Bill we are resisting the deprivation of one we have been enjoying

In strict accordance with the policy of degrading the Indian to the level of a raw Kaffir and, in the words of the Attorney-General of Natal, "that of preventing him from forming part of the future South African nation that is going to be built," the Natal Government last year introduced their Bill to amend the Indian Immigration Law which I regret to inform you has received the Royal sanction in spite of our hopes to the contrary. This news

was received after the Bombay meeting, and it will, therefore, be necessary for me to deal with this question at some length, also because this question more immediately affects this Presidency and can be best studied here. Up to the 18th day of August, 1894, the indentured immigrants went under a contract of service for five years in consideration for a free passage to Natal, free board and lodging for themselves and their families and wages at the rate of ten shillings per month for the first year to be increased by one shilling every following year. They were also entitled to a free passage back to India, if they remained in the Colony another five years as free labourers. This is now changed, and in future, the immigrants will have either to remain in the Colony for ever under indenture, their wages increasing to 20 shillings at the end of the 9th year of indentured service, or to return to India or to pay an annual poll tax of £3 sterling, equivalent to nearly half a year's earning on the indenture scale. A Commission consisting of two members was sent to India in 1893 by the Natal Government to induce the Indian Government to agree to the above alterations with the exception of the imposition of the poll-tax. The present Viceroy, while expressing his reluctance, agreed to the alteration subject to the sanction of the Home Government, refusing to allow the Natal Government to make the breach of the Clause about compulsory return a criminal offence. The Natal Government have got over this difficulty by the poll tax Clause.

failing there sent a memorial to Mr Chamberlain, praying either that the Bill should be disallowed or emigration to Natal should be suspended

The above proposal was mooted 10 years ago and it was vehemently opposed by the most eminent colonists in Natal. A Commission was then appointed to inquire into various matters concerning Indians in Natal. One of the Commissioners, Mr. Saunders, says in his additional report —

Though the Commission has made no recommendation on the subject of passing a law to force Indians back to India at the expiration of their term of service, unless they renew their indentures, I wish to express my strong condemnation of any such idea, and I feel convinced that many, who now advocate the plan, when they realise what it means, will reject it as energetically as I do. Stop Indian immigration and face results, but don't try to do what I can show is a great wrong.

What is it but taking the best of our servants (the good as well as the bad), and then refusing them the enjoyment of the reward, forcing them back (if we could, but we cannot) when their best days have been spent for our benefit. Where to? Why back to face a prospect of starvation from which they sought to escape when they were young. Shylock-like, taking the pound of flesh, and Shylock-like we may rely on it meeting Shylock's reward.

The Colony can stop Indian immigration, and that, perhaps, far more easily and permanently than some 'popularity seekers' would desire. But force men off at the end of their service, this the Colony cannot do. And I urge on it not to discredit a fair name by trying.

The Attorney-General of Natal who introduced the Bill under discussion expressed the following views while giving his evidence before the Commission —

With reference to time-expired Indians, I do not think that it ought to be compulsory on any man to go to any part of the world save for a crime for which he is transported. I hear a great deal of this question, I have been asked again and again to take a different view, but I have not been able to do it. A man is brought here, *in theory with his own consent, in practice very often without his consent*, he gives the best five years of his life, he forms new ties, forgets the old ones, perhaps establishes a home here, and he cannot, according to my view of right and wrong, be sent back. Better by far to stop the further introduction of Indians altogether than to take what work you can out of them.

and order them away. The Colony, or part of the Colony, seems to want Indians but also wishes to avoid the consequences of Indian immigration. The Indian people do no harm as far as I know, in certain respects they do a great deal of good. I have never heard a reason to justify the extradition of a man who has behaved well for five years.

And Mr. Binns who came to India as one of the Natal Commissioners to induce the Indian Government to agree to the above-mentioned alterations gave the following evidence before the Commission ten years ago — "I think the idea which has been mooted, that all Indians should be compelled to return to India at the end of their term of indenture, is most unfair to the Indian population, and would never be sanctioned by the Indian Government. In my opinion the free Indian population is a most useful section of the community." But then great men may change their views as often and as quickly as they may change their clothes with impunity and even to advantage. In them, they say, such changes are a result of sincere conviction. It is a thousand pities, however, that unfortunately for the poor indentured Indian his few or rather the expectation that the Indian Government will never sanction the change was not realised.

The London *Star* thus gave vent to its feelings on reading the Bill —

The Government of India has one simple remedy. It can suspend indentured immigration to South Africa as it has suspended such immigration to foreign possessions until it obtains the necessary guarantees for the present well being and the future status of the immigrants. It is eminently a case for sensible and conciliatory action on both sides. But the Indian Government may be forced to adopt measures in connection with the wider claim now being urged by every section of the Indian community, and which has been emphatically acknowledged by Her Majesty's Government at home—namely, the claim of the Indian races to trade and to labour with the full status of British subjects throughout the British Empire and in allied States.

The letters from Natal informing me of the Royal sanction to this Bill ask me to request the Indian public to help us to get emigration suspended. I am well aware that the idea of suspending emigration requires careful consideration. I humbly think that there is no other conclusion possible in the interests of the Indians at large. Emigration is supposed to relieve the congested districts and to benefit those who emigrate. If the Indians instead of paying the poll-tax, return to India, the congestion cannot be affected at all. And the returned Indians will rather be a source of difficulty than anything else as they must necessarily find it difficult to get work and cannot be expected to bring sufficient to live upon the interest of their capital. It certainly will not benefit the emigrants as they will never, if the Government can possibly help it, be allowed to rise higher than the status of labourers. The fact is that they are being helped on to degradation.

Under such circumstances I humbly ask you to support our prayer to suspend emigration to Natal, unless the new law can be altered or repealed. You will naturally be anxious to know the treatment of the Indians while under indenture. Of course, that life cannot be bright under any circumstances; but I do not think their lot is worse than the lot of the Indians similarly -

in other parts of the world. At the same time they too certainly come in for a share of the tremendous colour prejudice. I can only briefly allude to the matter here and refer to the curious Green Pamphlet where'n it has been more fully discussed. There is a sad mortality from suicides on certain estates in Natal. It is very difficult for an indentured Indian to have his services transferred on the ground of ill treatment. An indentured Indian after he becomes free is given a free pass. This he has to show whenever asked to do so. It is meant to detect desertion by the indentured Indians. The working of this system is a source of much irritation to poor free Indians and often puts respectable Indians in a very unpleasant position. The law really would not give any trouble but for the unreasonable prejudice. A sympathetic Protector of Immigrants, preferably an Irish gentleman of high standing and knowing the Tamil, Telugu and Hindustani languages would certainly mitigate the usual harshness of the indentured life. An Indian immigrant who loses his free pass, as a rule called upon to pay £10 sterling for a duplicate copy. This is no longer a system of slavery.

incident described in the Green Pamphlet led the police in Durban some years ago to free Indians thus dressed from liability to arrest after 9 P M. A Tamil schoolmistress, a Tamil schoolmaster and a Tamil Sunday school-teacher were only a few months ago arrested and locked up under this law. They all got justice in the law courts, but that was a poor consolation. The result, however, was that the Corporations in Natal are clamouring for an alteration in the law so that it might be impossible for such Indians to get off scot-free in the Law Courts.

There is a Bye-Law in Durban which requires registration of coloured servants. This Rule may be and perhaps is necessary for the Kaffirs who would not work, but absolutely useless with regard to the Indians. But the policy is to class the Indian with the Kafir whenever possible.

This does not complete the list of grievances in Natal. I must beg to refer the curious to the Green Pamphlet for further information.

But, gentlemen, you have been told lately by the Natal Agent-General that the Indians are nowhere better treated than in Natal, that the fact that a majority of the indentured labourers do not avail themselves of the return passage is the best answer to my pamphlet, and that the railway and tram-car officials do not treat the Indians as beasts nor do the Law Courts deny them justice.

With the greatest deference to the Agent-General, all I can say as to the first statement is that he must have very queer notions of good treatment, if to be locked up for being out after 9 P M. without a pass, to be denied the most elementary right of citizenship in a free country, to be denied a higher status than that of bondman and at best a free labourer and to be subjected to other restrictions

referred to above, are instances of good treatment. And if such treatment is the best the Indians receive throughout the world then the lot of the Indians in other parts of the world and here must be very miserable indeed, according to the commonsense view. The thing is that Mr Walter Perce, the Agent-General, is made to look through the official spectacles and to him everything official is bound to appear *rosy*. The legal disabilities are condemnatory of the action of the Natal Government, and how can the Agent-General be expected to condemn himself? If he or the Government which he represents only admitted that the legal disabilities mentioned above were against the fundamental principles of the British Constitution, I should not stand before you this evening. I respectfully submit that statements of opinions made by the Agent-General cannot be allowed to have greater weight than those of an accused person about his own guilt.

they should be interpreted into meaning the best treatment possible

Moreover, who are these people who instead of returning to India settle in the Colony? They are the Indians drawn from the poorest classes and from the most thickly populated districts possibly living in a state of semi-starvation in India. They migrated to Natal with their families, if any, with the intention of settling there, if possible. Is it any wonder, if these people after the expiry of their indenture, instead of running 'to face semi-starvation,' as Mr Saunders has put it, settled in a country where the climate is magnificent and where they may earn a decent living? A starving man generally would stand any amount of rough treatment to get a crumb of bread.

Do not the Uitlanders make out a terribly long list of grievances in the Transvaal? And yet do they not flock to the Transvaal in thousands in spite of the ill-treatment they receive there because they can earn their bread in the Transvaal more easily than in the old country?

This, too, should be borne in mind that in making his statement, Mr Peace has not taken into account the free Indian trader who goes to the Colony on his own account and who feels most the indignities and disabilities. If it does not do to tell the Uitlander that he may not go to the Transvaal if he cannot bear the ill treatment, much less will it do to say so to the enterprising Indian. We belong to the Imperial family and are children, adopted it may be, of the same august mother, having the same rights and privileges guaranteed to us as to the European children. It was in that belief that we went to the Colony of Natal and we trust that our belief was well-founded.

The Agent-General has contradicted the statement made in the pamphlet that the railway and tram-car

officials treat the Indians as beasts. Even if the statements I have made were incorrect, that would not disprove the legal disabilities which and which alone have been made the subject of memorials and to remove which we invoke the direct intervention of the Home and the Indian Governments. But I venture to say that the Agent-General has been misinformed and beg to repeat that the Indians are treated as beasts by the railway and the tram-car officials. That statement was made now nearly two years ago in quarters where it could have been contradicted at once. I had the honour to address an 'open letter' to the members of the Local Parliament in Natal. It was widely circulated in the Colony and noticed by almost every leading newspaper in South Africa. No one contradicted it then. It was even admitted by some newspapers. Under such circumstances, I ventured to quote it in my pamphlet published here. I am not given to exaggerate matters and it is very unpleasant to me to have to cite testimony in my own favour but since an attempt has been made to discredit my statements and thereby the cause I am advocating, I feel it to be my duty for the sake of the cause to tell you what the papers in South Africa thought about the 'open letter' in which the statement was made.

The *Star*, the leading newspaper in Johannesburg—

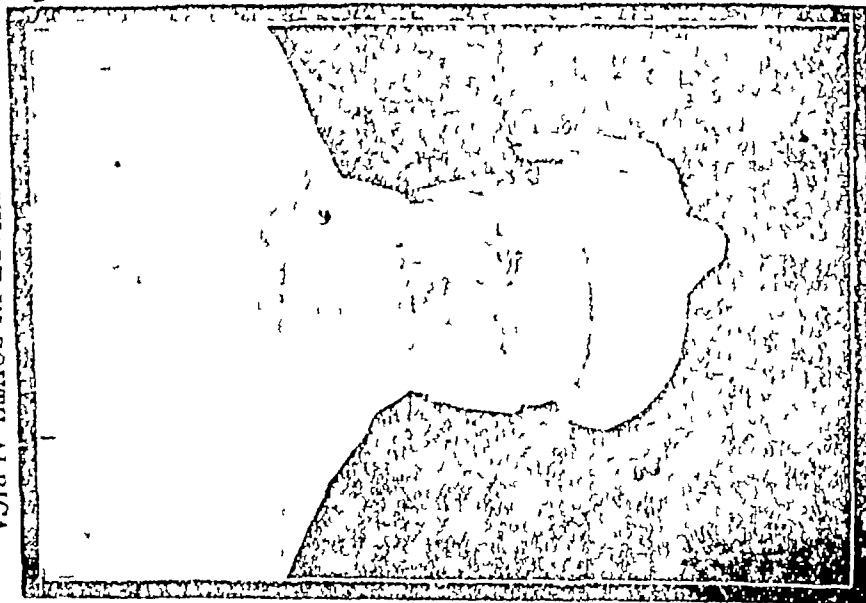
Mr. Gandhi writes forcibly, moderately and well. He has himself suffered some slight measure of injustice since he came into the Colony but that fact does not seem to have coloured his sentiments and it must be confessed that to the tone of the open letter no objection can reasonably be taken. Mr. Gandhi discusses the questions he has raised with conspicuous moderation.

The *Natal Mercury*, the Government organ in Natal,

II II THE AGA KHAN



G N CORRALE IN SOUTH AFRICA





MRS. GANDHI

more so than might have been expected, considering that he did not receive very just treatment at the hands of the Law Society when he first came to the Colony

Had I made unfounded statements, the newspapers would not have given such a certificate to the 'open letter'

An Indian, about two years ago, took out a second class ticket on the Natal railway. In a single night journey he was thrice disturbed and was twice made to change compartments to please European passengers. The case came before the Court and the Indian got £ 10 damages. The following is the plaintiff's evidence in the case —

Deponent got into a second class carriage in the train, leaving Charlestown at 1-30 P.M. Three other Indians were in the same compartment, but they got out at New Castle. A white man opened the door of the compartment and beckoned to witness, saying "come out, Sammy." Plaintiff asked, "why," and the white man replied "Never mind, come out, I want to place some one here." Witness said "why should I come out from here when I have paid my fare?" The white man then left and brought an Indian who, witness believed, was in the employ of the railway. The Indian was told to tell plaintiff to get out of the carriage. Thereupon the Indian said, "the white man orders you to come out and you must come out." The Indian then left. Witness said to the white man, "what do you want to shift me about for. I have paid my fare and have a right to remain here." The white man became angry at this and said, "well, if you don't come out, I will knock hell out of you." The white man got into the carriage and laid hold of witness by the arm and tried to pull him out. Plaintiff said "Let me alone and I will come out." The witness left the carriage and the white man pointed out another second class compartment and told him to go there. Plaintiff did as he was directed. The compartment he was shown into was empty. He believed some people who were playing a band were put into the carriage from which he was expelled. This white man was the District Superintendent of Railways at Newcastle (*Shame*). To proceed, witness travelled undisturbed to Maritzberg. He fell asleep and when he awoke at Maritzberg he found a white man, a white woman and a child in the compartment with him. A white man came up to the carriage and said, "Is that your boy, speaking to the white man in the compartment?" Witness's fellow-traveller replied "yes" pointing to

his little boy. The other white man then said, "No, I don't mean him. I mean the damned coolie in the corner." This gentleman with the choice language was a railway official, being a shunter. The white man in the compartment replied, "Oh never mind him, leave him alone." Then the white man outside (the official), said, "I am not going to allow a coolie to be in the same compartment with white people." This man addressed plaintiff saying "Sammy, come out." Plaintiff said, "why, I was removed at New Castle to this compartment." The white man said, "well, you must come out" and was about to enter the carriage. Witness thinking he would be handled as at New Castle said he would go out and left the compartment. The white men pointed out another second class compartment which witness entered. This was empty for a time but before leaving a white man entered. Another white man, (the official) afterwards came up and said "If you don't like to travel with that stinking coolie I will find you another carriage." (*The Natal Advertiser*, 22nd November 1893)

You will have noticed that the official at Maritzburg maltreated the Indian passenger although his white fellow passenger did not mind him. If this is not bestial treatment, I should very much like to know what is and such occurrences take place often enough to be irritating.

It was found during the case that one of the witnesses for the Defendant was coerced. In answer to a question from the Bench whether the Indian passengers were treated with consideration, the witness who was one of the officials referred to replied in the affirmative. Thereupon the presiding Magistrate who tried the case is reported to have said to the witness "Then you have a different opinion to what I have and it is a curious thing that people who are not connected with the railway observe more than you."

sengers without rendering the carrying out of such measures annoying to any person whether black or white

In the course of its remarks on the same case the *Natal Mercury* observed —

There is throughout South Africa a tendency to treat all Indians as coolies pure and simple no matter whether they be educated and cleanly in their habits or not. On our railways we have noticed on more than one occasion that coloured passengers are not by any means treated with civility, and although it would be unreasonable to expect that the white employees of the N G R should treat them with the same deference as is accorded to European passengers still we think it would not be in any way derogatory to their dignity if the officials were a little more *Suavior in modo* when dealing with coloured travellers

The *Cape Times*, a leading newspaper in South Africa, says —

Natal presents the curious spectacle of a country entertaining a supreme contempt for the very class of people she can least do without. Imagination can only picture the commercial paralysis which would inevitably attend the withdrawal of the Indian population from that Colony. And yet the Indian is the most despised of creatures, he may not ride in the tram-cars, nor sit in the same compartment of a railway carriage with the Europeans, hotel-keepers refuse him food or shelter and he is denied the privilege of the public bath!

Here is the opinion of an Anglo-Indian, Mr Drummond, who is intimately connected with the Indians in Natal. He says, writing to the *Natal Mercury* —

The majority of the people here seem to forget that they are British subjects that their Maharani is our Queen and for that reason alone one would think that they might be spared the opprobrious term of 'coolie,' as it is here applied. In India it is only the lower class of white men who calls native a 'nigger' and treats him as if he were unworthy of any consideration or respect. In their eyes as in the eyes of many in this Colony, he is treated either as a heavy burden or a mechanical machine. It is a common thing and a lamentable thing to hear the ignorant and the unenlightened speak of the Indian generally as the scum of the earth, etc. It is depreciation from the white man and not appreciation that they get

I think I have adduced sufficient outside testimony to substantiate my statement that the railway officials treat the Indians as beasts. On the tram-cars, the Indians are often not allowed to sit inside but are sent 'upstairs,' as

the phrase goes "They are often made to remove from one seat to another or prevented from occupying front benches I know an Indian officer, a Tamil gentleman, dressed in the latest European style who was made to stand on the tram-car board although there was accommodation available for him

Quoting statistics to prove the prosperity of the Indian community is quite unnecessary. It is not denied that the Indians who go to Natal do earn a living and that in spite of the persecution

In the Transvaal we cannot own landed property, we may not trade or reside except in specified locations, which are described by the British Agent, "as places to deposit the refuse of the town without any water except the polluted soakage in the gully between the location and the town" We may not as of right walk on the footpaths in Johannesburg and Pretoria, we may not be out after 9 p.m. We may not travel without passes. The law prevents us from travelling first or second class on the railways. We are required to pay a special registration fee of £3 to enable us to settle in the Transvaal, and though we are treated as mere "chattels" and have no privileges whatever, we may be called upon to render compulsory military service, if Mr. Chamberlain disregards the Memorial which we have addressed to him on the subject. The history of the whole case as it affects the Indians in the Transvaal is very interesting, and I am only sorry that for want of time I cannot deal with it now. I must, however, beg you to study it from the Green Pamphlet. I must not omit to mention that it is a crime for an Indian to buy native gold.

For Orange Free State has made "the British Indian responsible by simply classifying him with the Kaffir," and for it is just that. It has passed a special law

whereby we are prevented from trading, farming or owning property under any circumstances. If we submit to these degrading conditions we may be allowed to reside after passing through certain humiliating ceremonies. We were driven out from the State and our stores were closed causing to us a loss of £9,000. And this grievance remains absolutely without redress. The Cape Parliament has passed a Bill granting the East London Municipality in that Colony the power to frame Bye-Laws prohibiting Indians from walking on the footpaths and making them live in locations. It has issued instructions to the authorities of East Griqualand not to issue any trading licences to the Indians. The Cape Government are in communication with the Home Government with a view to induce them to sanction legislation restricting the influx of the Asiatics. The people in the Chartered territories are endeavouring to close the country against the Asiatic trader. In Zululand, a Crown Colony, we cannot own or acquire landed property in the townships of Eshowe and Nondweni. This question is now before Mr Chamberlain for consideration. As in the Transvaal there also it is criminal for an Indian to buy native gold.

Thus we are hemmed in on all sides by restrictions. And if nothing further were to be done here and in England on our behalf, it is merely a question of time when the respectable Indian in South Africa will be absolutely extinct.

Nor is this merely a local question. It is as the London *Times* puts it, "that of the status of the British Indian outside India." "If," says the *Thunderer*, "they fail to secure that position, (that is of equal status) in South Africa, it will be difficult for them to attain it elsewhere." I have no doubt you have read in the papers that

Australian Colonies have passed legislation to prevent Indians from settling in that part of the World. It will be interesting to know how the Home Government deal with that question.

The real cause of all this prejudice may be expressed in the words of the leading organ in South Africa, namely, the *Cape Times*, when it was under the editorship of the Prince of South African journalists, Mr St Leger. "It is the position of these merchants which is productive of no little hostility to this day. And it is in considering their position that their rivals in trade have sought to inflict upon them through the medium of the State, what looks on the face of it something very like an injustice for the benefit of self." Continues the same organ.

The injustice to the Indians is so glaring that one is almost ashamed of one's countrymen in wishing to have these men treated as natives (if not of South Africa) simply because of their success in trade. The very reason that they have been so successful against the dominant race is sufficient to raise them above that degrading level.



loyalty in peace and by their services in war, a right which was solemnly guaranteed to them by the Queen's Proclamation in 1857, and which has now been explicitly recognised by Her Majesty's Government" Says the same gentleman in another letter, 'I have great hopes that justice will in the end be done, you have a good cause. You have only to take up your position strongly in order to be successful. That position is that the British Indian subjects in South Africa are alike in our own Colonies and in independent friendly States being deprived of their status as British subjects guaranteed to them by the Sovereign and the British Parliament."

An ex Liberal member of the House of Commons says — "You are infamously treated by the Colonial Government and you will be so treated by the Home Government if they do not compel the Colonies to alter their policy."

A Conservative member says "I am quite aware that the situation is surrounded with many difficulties, but some points stand out clear and as far as I can make out it is true to say that breaches of what in India is a civil contract are punishable in South Africa as though they were criminal offences. This is beyond doubt contrary to the principles of Indian Code and seems to me an infringement of the privileges guaranteed to British subjects in India. Again it is perfectly evident that in the Boer republic and possibly in Natal it is the direct obvious intention of the Government to 'hunt,' natives of India and to compel them to carry on their business under degrading conditions. The excuses which are put forward to defend the infringements of the liberties of British subjects in the Transvaal are too flimsy to be worth a moment's attention." Yet another Conservative member says "Your activity is praiseworthy and demands justice. I am, therefore, willing to help you as far as lies in my power."

therefore quite time that all public bodies should at once turn their attention to this important subject to create an intelligent public opinion with a view to organise an agitation for the removal of the grievances under which our brethren are labouring. Indeed, these grievances have become and are day by day becoming so unbearable and offensive that the requisite agitation cannot be taken up one day too soon."

I may state our position a little more clearly. We are aware that the insults and indignities that we are subjected to at the hands of the populace cannot be directly removed by the intervention of the Home Government. We do not appeal to it for any such intervention. We bring them to the notice of the public so that the fair-minded of all communities and the Press may, by expressing their disapproval, materially reduce their rigour and possibly eradicate them ultimately. But we certainly do appeal and we hope not vainly to the Home Government for protection against reproduction of such ill-feeling in legislation. We certainly beseech the Home Government to disallow all the Acts of the Legislative bodies of the Colonies restricting our freedom in any shape or form. And this brings me to the last question, namely, how far can the Home Government interfere with such action on the part of the Colonies and the allied States. As for Zululand there can be no question since it is a Crown Colony directly governed from Downing Street through the Governor. It is not a self-governing or a responsibly governed Colony as the Colonies of Natal and the Cape of Good Hope are. With regard to the last two their Constitution Act provides that Her Majesty may disallow any Act of the Local Parliament within two years even after it has become law having received the Governor's assent. That is one

safeguard against oppressive measures by the Colonies. The Royal instructions to the Governor as also the Constitution Act enumerate certain Bills which cannot be assented to by the Governor without Her Majesty's previous sanction. Among such are Bills which have for their object class-legislation such as the Franchise Bill or Immigration Bill, Her Majesty's intervention is thus direct and precise. While it is true that the Home Government is slow to interfere with the Acts of the Colonial Legislatures, there are instances where it has not hesitated to put its foot down on occasions less urgent than the present one. As you are aware the repeal of the first Franchise Bill was due to such wholesome intervention. What is more the Colonists are ever afraid of it. And as a result of the sympathy expressed in England and the sympathetic answer given by Mr. Chamberlain to the Deputation that waited on him some months ago, most of the papers in South Africa, at any rate in Natal have veered round considerably. As to the Transvaal there is the Convention. As to the Orange Free State I can only say that it is an unfriendly act on the part of a friendly State to shut her doors against any portion of Her Majesty's subjects. And as such I humbly think it can be effectively checked.

It may not be amiss to quote a few passages from the *London Times*, articles bearing on the question of intervention as well as the whole question generally.

secure to them the same protection abroad which is secured to the subjects of every other dependencies of the Crown?

It is a mockery to urge our Indian fellow-subjects to embark on external commerce at the moment they leave India they lose their rights as British subjects, and can be treated by foreign governments as a degraded and an outcaste race

In another article it says —

The matter is eminently one for good offices and for influence for that 'friendly negotiation' which Mr Chamberlain promises, though he warns the deputation, that it may be tedious and will certainly not be easy. As to the Cape Colony and Natal, the question is to a certain extent simplified since, of course, the Colonial Office can speak to them with greater authority

The incident is one of those which suggests wider questions than any that directly offer themselves for official replies. We are at the centre of a world wide Empire, at a period when locomotion is easy and is every day becoming easier, both in time and cost. Some portions of the Empire are crowded, others are comparatively empty, and the flow from the congested to the under-peopled districts is continuous. What is to happen when subjects differing in colour, religion and habits from ourselves or from the natives of a particular spot emigrate to that spot for their living? How are race prejudices and antipathies, the jealousies of trade, the fear of competition to be controlled? The answer, of course, must be—by intelligent policy at the Colonial Office

Small as are the requirements of the Indian the steady growth of the population of India is such that a certain outward movement is inevitable, and it is a movement that will increase. It is very desirable that our white fellow-subjects in Africa should understand that there will, in all probability be this current flowing from India, that it is perfectly within the rights of the British Indian to seek his subsistence at the Cape, and that he ought, in the common interest of the Empire to be well treated when he comes there. It is, indeed, to be feared that the ordinary Colonist, wherever settled, thinks much more of his immediate interests than of those of the great empire which protects him, and he has some difficulty in recognising a fellow subject in the Hindu or the Parsee. The duty of the Colonial Office is to enlighten him and to see that fair treatment is extended to British subjects of whatever colour

Again —

In India the British, the Hindu and the Mussalman communities find themselves face to face with the question as to whether at the outset of the new industrial movements which have been so long and anxiously awaited, Indian traders and workers are or are not to have the same status before the law as all other British subjects enjoy. May they or may they not go freely from one British possession to another and claim the rights of British

subjects in allied states or are they to be treated as outcaste races, subjected to a system of permits and passes when travelling on their ordinary business avocations and relegated, as the Transvaal Government would relegate them to a ghetto at the permanent centres of their trade? These are questions which applied to all Indians who seek to better their fortunes outside the limits of the Indian Empire. Mr Chamberlain's words and the determined attitude taken up by every section of the Indian press show that for two such questions there can be but one answer.

I shall take the liberty to give one more quotation from the same journal.

The question with which Mr Chamberlain was called upon to deal cannot be so easily reduced to concrete terms. On the one hand he clearly laid down the principle of the "equal rights" and equal privilege of all British subjects in regard to redress from foreign States. It would, indeed, have been impossible to deny that principle. Our Indian subjects have been fighting the battles of Great Britain over half the old world with the loyalty and courage which have won the admiration of all British men. The fighting reserve which Great Britain has in the Indian races adds greatly to her political influence and prestige and it would be a violation of the British sense of justice to use the blood and the valour of these races in war and yet to deny them the protection of the British name in the enterprises of peace. The Indian workers and traders are slowly spreading across the earth from Central Asia to the Australian Colonies and from the Straits Settlements to the Canary Islands. Wherever the Indian goes he is the same useful well-doing man law-abiding under whatever form of Government he may find himself, frugal in his wants and industrious in his habits. But these very virtues make him a formidable competitor in the labour markets to which he resorts. Although numbering in the aggregate some hundreds of thousands the immigrant Indian Labourers and small dealers have only recently appeared in the foreign countries or British Colonies in numbers sufficient to arouse jealousy and to expose them to political injustice.

Let the facts which we brought to notice in June and which were urged on Mr Chamberlain by a deputation of Indians last year, show that the necessity has now arisen for protecting the Indian Labourer from such jealousy and for securing to him the same rights as other British subjects enjoy.

Mr Chamberlain, however, has spoken in no uncertain terms. We are young and inexperienced, we have a right to appeal to our noble and freer brethren for protection. But under the yoke of oppression we can merely cry out. You have heard our cry. The blame will be laid on our shoulders if the yoke is not removed from our backs.

## THE TRANSVAAL INDIANS' DEPUTATION

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*Messrs Abdul Gani (Chairman, British Indian Association), Mr Haji Habib (Secretary, Pretoria Committee) Mr E S Cooradia, Mr P Moonsamj Moonlight, Mr Ayob Haye Beg Mahomed, and Mr M K Gandhi formed a deputation that waited on Lord Selborne on November 29, 1905. On behalf of the deputation, Mr Gandhi presented the following statement of the position to his Excellency —*

### STATEMENT.

There are, besides laws affecting coloured people and therefore British Indians, the Peace Preservation Ordinance and Law 3 of 1885, as amended in 1886

#### THE PEACE PRESERVATION ORDINANCE

The Peace Preservation Ordinance, as its name implies, although framed to keep out of the Colony dangerous characters, is being used mainly to prevent British Indians from entering the Transvaal. The working of the law has always been harsh and oppressive—and this in spite of the desire of the Chief Secretary for Permits that it should not be so. He has to receive instructions from the Colonial Office, so that the harsh working is due, not to the chief officer in charge of the Department, but to the system under which it is being worked. (a) There are still hundreds of refugees waiting to come. (b) Boys with their parents or without are required to take out permits. (c) Men with old £3 registrations coming into the country without permits are, though refugees, being sent away and required to make formal application. (d) Even wives of Transvaal residents are expected to take out permits if they are alone, and to pay £3 registration, whether with or without their husbands. (Correspondence is now going on between the Government and the British Indian Association on the point.) (e) Children under sixteen, if it cannot be proved that their parents are dead, or are residents of the Transvaal, are being sent away or are refused permits, in spite of the fact that they may be supported by their relatives who are their guardians and who are residing in the Transvaal. (f) No non-refugee British Indians are allowed to enter the Colony, no matter what their station may be in life. (The last prohibition causes serious inconvenience to the established merchants, who, by reason thereof, are prevented from drawing upon India for confidential managers or clerks.)

In spite of the declarations of her late Majesty's ministers, and assurances of relief after the establishment of civil Government, this law remains on the statute book, and is being fully enforced, though many laws which were considered to be in conflict with the British constitution, were repealed as soon as British authority was proclaimed in the Transvaal. Law 3 of 1885 is insulting to British Indians, and was accepted totally under a misapprehension. It imposes the following restrictions on Indians—(a) It prevents them from enjoying burgher rights (b) It prohibits ownership of fixed property, except in streets, wards, or locations set apart for the residence of Indians (c) It contemplates compulsory segregation in locations of British Indians for purposes of sanitation. And (d) it imposes a levy of £ 3 on every Indian who may enter the Colony for purposes of trade or the like.

#### REFORMED ADMINISTRATION OF ORDINANCE

It is respectfully submitted, on behalf of the British Indian Association, that the Peace Preservation Ordinance should be so administered that (a) it should facilitate the entry of all refugees without delay (b) Children under sixteen should be exempt from any restriction whatsoever, if they have their parents or supporters with them (c) Female relatives of British Indians should be entirely free from interference or restriction as to the rights of entry. And (d) a limited number of Indians, though not refugees, should on the application of resident traders who may satisfy the Permit Officer that they require the services of such men, be granted permits for residence during the period of their contract of service (e) Indians with educational attainments should be allowed to enter the Colony on application.

#### REPEAL OF COLOUR LEGISLATION

Both the Law of 1885 and the Peace Preservation Ordinance and all other colour legislation affecting British Indians should be repealed as soon as possible and they should be assured as to—

(a) Their right to own landed property (b) To live where they like, subject to the general sanitary laws of the Colony (c) Exemption from any special payment (d) And generally freedom from special legislation and enjoyment of civil rights and liberty in the same manner and to the same extent as the other Colonists.

#### SUBSTITUTES SUGGESTED

Though the British Indian Association does not share the fear of the European inhabitants that an unrestricted immigration from India will swamp the latter as an earnest of its intention to work in harmony with them and to conciliate them, it has all along maintained that (a) The Peace Preservation Ordinance should be replaced by an immigration law of a general character, on the Cape or Natal basis, provided that the educational test recognises the principal languages and that power be given to the Government to grant local permits to such men as may be required for the

wants of Indians who may be themselves already established in businesses (b) A Dealers Licences Law of a general character may be passed, applicable to all sections of the community, whereby the Town Councils or Local Boards could control the issue of new trade licences, subject to appeal to the Supreme Court to review the decisions of such Councils or Local Boards Under such a law whilst the then existing licences would be fully protected, except when the premises licensed are not kept in a sanitary condition, all new applicants would have to be approved of by the Town Councils of the Local Boards, so that the increase of licences, would be largely dependent upon the bodies above named

### MR GANDHI'S ADDRESS

*Before presenting the statement to Lord Selborne, Mr Gandhi addressed his Excellency as follows —*

#### PRELIMINARY REPRESENTATIONS

Before I deal with the statement I am to hand to your Excellency, I have been asked to mention two matters that have occurred during your recent tour through the Transvaal Your Excellency is reported to have said at Potchefstroom that "no non-refugee British Indians would be allowed to enter the Colony until the Representative Assembly has considered the question next year" If the report is correct, it would, as I hope to show this afternoon, be a very grave injustice to the vested rights of the Indian community At Emelo, your Excellency is reported to have used the expression "coolie storekeepers" This expression has given very great offence to the British Indians in the Colony, but the British Indian Association has assured them that the expression has probably not been used by your Excellency, or, if it has, your Excellency is incapable of giving thereby any intentional offence to British Indian storekeepers The use of the word "coolie" has caused a great deal of mischief in Natal At one time it became so serious that the then Justice, Sir Walter Wagg, had to intervene and to put down the use of that expression in connection with any but indentured Indians,

it having been imported into the Court of Justice As your Excellency may be aware, it means "labourer" or "porter" Used, therefore, in connection with traders, it is not only offensive, but a contradiction in terms

#### THE PEACE PRESERVATION ORDINANCE

Coming to the statement that the British Indian Association is submitting to your Excellency, I would take first the Peace Preservation Ordinance Soon after the Transvaal became part of the British Dominions, the services rendered during the war by the dhooly bearers that came with Sir George White, and those rendered by the Indian ambulance corps in Natal, were on many people's lips Sir George White spoke in glowing terms of the heroism of Paibhuisingh, who, perched up in a tree, never once failed to ring the gong as a notice to the inhabitants each time the Boer gun was fired from the Umbulwana Hill General Buller's despatches, praising the work of the corps, were just out, and the administration was in the hands of the military officers who knew the Indians The first batch of refugees, therefore, who were waiting at the ports, entered the country without any difficulty, but the civilian population became alarmed, and called for the restriction of the entry of even the refugees The result was that the country was dotted with Asiatic offices, and from that time up to to day the Indian community has known no rest, wherever aliens, in every lapse of the term, as a rule got their permits at the ports on application there and then, the Indian, even though a refugee, had to write to the supervisors of Asiatics, who had to refer the applications to the Colonial Office, before permits were issued The process took a very long time from two to six months, and even one year and more, and then, too, the Colonial Office had laid down



LORD MORLEY

People in India would ask whether it was not want of will, rather than want of power which led the British Government to slay its hand.

What he could not understand was more race prejudice and insistence on a principle of racial inferiority, seeing that there were many Indians in the Transvaal pursuing professional or mercantile callings, who were greatly superior in many of the elements which made up a civilised being to some of those who were readily admitted into the country — *To a Deputation, November 21, 1900*



**DADABHAI NAOROJI**

They have suffered long and suffered much and have  
so borne their misfortune as to entitle them to the  
better regard and protection of His Majesty's Govern-  
ment *Birthday Message, 1912*

a rule that only so many permits should be issued to British Indian refugees per week. The result of this mode of operation was that corruption became rampant, and there grew up a gang of permit-agents who simply fleeced innocent refugees, and it was a matter of notoriety that each refugee who wanted to enter the Transvaal had to spend from £15 to £30 or more. The matter came to the notice of the British Indian Association, repeated representations were made, and ultimately the Asiatic offices were wiped out. The mode of granting permits was, however, unfortunately still kept up, and the Chief Secretary for permits has been always subject to instructions from the Colonial Office. Thus the Peace Preservation Ordinance, which was intended to apply to dangerous character and political offenders, under the influence of the Colonial Office had become an Indian Immigration Restriction Law, as it remains to this day. Under the present regime, too, therefore, it is a most difficult matter for even *bona fide* refugees to get permits, and it is only in rare cases that it is possible to get them, except after a delay of months. Every one, no matter what his status may be, has to make an application on a special form, give two references, and put his thumb impression upon the form. The matter is then investigated, and the permit is granted. As if this were not enough, owing to the charges made by Mr Loveday and his friends, the Chief Secretary for Permits, received instructions to insist on European references. This was tantamount to the denial of the right of British Indian refugees to enter the country. It would be hard to find twenty Indians who would be known to respectable Europeans by name as well as appearance. The British Indian Association had to correspond with the Government, and,

in the meantime, the issue of permits was suspended, and it has been only lately realised that the insisting upon European references was a serious injustice

#### THE ENTRY OF CHILDREN

But still the difficulties apart from the necessity for European references are there. Male children under sixteen years of age are now called upon to take out permits before they can enter the Colony, so that it has been not an uncommon experience for little children of ten years of age and under to be torn away from their parents at the border towns. Why such a rule has been imposed we fail to understand.

The High Commissioner. Have you ever known a case where the parents have stated beforehand that they have children and which children have been refused permission to come in?

Mr. Gandhi. Yes, and the parents have been obliged to make affidavits before the children have been allowed to come in.

If the parents have the right to enter, so far as I am aware every civilised country has admitted the right of minor children also to enter with them, and, in any case, children under sixteen years, if they cannot prove their parents are dead or that their parents have been resident in the Transvaal before the war, are not allowed to enter or remain in the Colony. This is a very serious matter. As your Excellency is aware, the "joint family" system prevails all over India. Brothers and sisters and their children live under the same roof from generation to generation, and the eldest member in the family is nominally, as well as in reality, the supporter and the bread earner. Therefore, there is nothing unusual in Indians bringing children of their relatives into the country, and it is

submitted that it will be a very serious injustice if such children, who have hitherto been left unmolested, are either deported from the Colony or prevented from entering the Colony. The Government, again, intend to require the female relatives of resident Indians also to be registered, in the same manner as the males. The British Indian Association has sent an emphatic protest against any such measure, and have even submitted that it would be prepared to fight the question in a court of law, as, according to the advice given to it, wives of resident Indians are not required to take out registration certificates and pay £3

#### THE ENTRY OF SPECIAL CLERKS, ETC

No new permits are granted by the Government, no matter how necessary it may be in certain cases. We were all extremely pleased to read in the papers your Excellency's emphatic declaration that the vested interests of the Indians who are already settled in the country should not be disturbed or touched. There are merchants who have constantly to draw upon India for confidential clerks, in order to enable them to carry on their business. It is not easy to pick out reliable men from the resident population. That is the experience of merchants all over, and belonging to all communities. If, therefore, new Indians are absolutely shut out of the country until the establishment of representative government, it will seriously interfere with these vested interests, and, in any case, it is difficult to see why men of attainments and education whether they be refugees or not, should not be able to have their permits on application. And, in spite of all these hardships, our anti-Indian friends are never tired of saying the country is flooded with British Indians who were never in the Transvaal. They have made a point of

saying that every Indian who was before in the country was registered. I hardly think it is necessary for me to dilate upon this matter, as your Excellency has been told that all the facts with reference to this charge are wrong, but I may be pardoned for referring your Excellency to a case that happened in 1893. Shire and Dumat were large contractors of labour. They brought into the country at one time 800 Indian labourers. How many more they brought I do not know. The then State Attorney insisted that they should take out registration certificates and pay £3 each. Shire and Dumat tested the matter in the High Court, and the then Chief Justice, Kotze, held that these men were not, in the terms of the law, called upon to pay £3, as they did not enter for "purposes of trade," and that he could not help the Government, even if the men, after the contract was over, subsequently remained in the country. That is only one instance, which cannot be gainsaid, in which hundreds of Indians remained in the country without paying £3 each. The British Indian Association has always submitted, and that from personal experience, that hundreds of Indians, who did not take out trade licences, remained in the country without ever registering themselves and paying £3.

#### HAZARDS AND LOCATIONS

Coming to Law 3 of 1885, it has been often urged that Indians, after the establishment of British Government in this country, have received relief with reference to trade licences. Nothing, however, can be farther from the truth. Before the war, we were able to trade as we were liked, as against tender of payment for licence money. The long arm of the British Government was then strong enough to protect us, and up to the very eve of the war, in spite of the constant threats of the then Govern-

ment to prosecute British Indians who were trading, no action was taken. It is true that now, owing to the decision of the Supreme Court, Indian trade is unfettered but that is in spite of the Government. Up to the very last moment the Government declined to come to the rescue and a notice was published called the "Bazaars Notice," which stated that, after a certain date, every Indian who did not hold a licence to trade at the outbreak of war outside locations would be expected not only to remove to locations, but to trade there also. After the notice was published locations were established in almost every town, and when every effort to get justice at the hands of the Government was exhausted, as a last resort it was decided to test the matter in a Court of Law. The whole of the Government machinery was then set in motion against us. Before the war a similar case was fought, and the British Government aided the Indians to seek an interpretation of the law, which we have now received from the present Supreme Court. After the establishment of the British Government, all these forces were against us. It is a cruel irony of fate, and there is no use disguising the fact that we have felt it most keenly, and this, I may state, as has now transpired, in spite of the fact that the then Attorney-General told the Government that the interpretation they sought to place upon the law was bad, that if it went to the Supreme Court the matter would be decided in favour of British Indians. If, therefore, British Indians have not been sent to locations and are free to trade anywhere they like, and to live where they like—as I say, it is because it is notwithstanding the intentions of the Government to the contrary. In every instance, Law 3 of 1885 has been, so far as the Indians are concerned, most strictly interpreted against us, and we

have not been allowed advantage of any loopholes that are left in it in our favour. For instance, British Indians are not debarred from owning landed property in "streets, wards, or locations that may be set apart" by the Government. The Government have resolutely declined to consider the words "streets and wards," and have simply clung to the word locations, and these locations, too, have been established miles away. We have pleaded hard, saying that the Government have the power to give us the right to ownership of land in streets and wards, that they should make use of that power in our favour, but the plea has been in vain. Even land which is being used for religious purposes, the Government would not transfer in the names of the trustees, as in Johannesburg, Heidelberg, Pretoria, and Potchefstroom, although the mosque premises are good in every respect, from a sanitary standpoint. It is time, we therefore submit, that some relief was granted to us, while new legislation is under consideration.

CLASS LEGISLATION

a desirable citizen, and formed a better link between the white wholesale merchant and the Native. Sir Arthur Lawley had also stated that even if promises were made to British Indians, they were made in ignorance of the facts as they now are, and therefore it would be a greater duty to break them than to carry them out. With the greatest deference, I venture to submit that this is a wrong view to take of the promises. We are not dealing with promises that were made fifty years ago, though we undoubtedly rely upon the Proclamation of 1858 as our "Magna Charta." That proclamation has been reaffirmed more than once. Viceroy after Viceroy has stated emphatically that it was a promise acted upon. At the Conference of the Colonial Premiers, Mr Chamberlain laid down the same doctrine and told the Premiers that no legislation affecting British Indians as such would be countenanced by her late Majesty's Government, that it would be putting an affront quite unnecessarily on millions of the loyal subjects of the Crown, and that, therefore, the legislation that was passed could only be of a general character. It was for that reason that the first Immigration Restriction Act of Australia was vetoed. It was for the same reason that the first Natal Franchise Act was vetoed, and it was for the same reason that the Colony of Natal, after submitting a draft Bill applicable to Asiatics as such, had to draft another measure. These are matters, not of years gone by, but of recent years. It cannot be said that there are to-day any new facts that have come to light to change all this. Indeed, even immediately before the war, declarations were made by Ministers that one of the reasons was to protect the rights of British Indians. Lastly, but not least, your Excellency, too, gave expression to similar sentiments on the eve of the war.

Though, therefore, the manner in which Sir Arthur Lawley has approached the question is, in our humble opinion, very unjust and inconsistent with the British traditions, we, in order to show that we wish to co-operate with the white colonists, have submitted that, even though no such law existed before, there may now be an Immigration Act after the basis of the Cape or Natal, except that as to the educational test, the great Indian languages should be recognised and that the already established British Indian merchants should have facilities afforded to them for importing temporarily men whom they may require in their businesses. That will at once do away with the fear of what has been termed an Asiatic invasion. We have also submitted that with reference to trade licenses, which have caused so much grumbling, the power should be given to the Local Boards or Town Councils to regulate the issue of any new licences subject to the control of the Supreme Court. All the existing licences should be taken out of the operation of any such statute, because they represent vested interests. We feel that if these two measures were passed, and Law 3 of 1885 were repealed, some measure, and only some measure of justice would be done to Indians. We submit that we ought to have perfect freedom of owning landed property and of living where we like under the general municipal regulations as to sanitation and appearance of buildings, and during the time that the legislation is being formed, the Peace Preservation Ordinance should be regulated in accordance with the spirit of such regulation, and liberal interpretation should be placed upon Law 3 of 1885. It seems to me to be foreign to the nature of the British Constitution as I have been taught from my childhood, and it is difficult for my countrymen to understand that under

the British flag which protects aliens, its own subjects should be debarred from holding a foot of landed property so long as good use is made of it. Under the conditions, therefore, submitted by the Association, it ought to be possible for the Government to free the Statute Book of the Colony from legislation that necessarily insults British Indians. I do not wish to touch on such questions as footpath regulations, when we have to consider the question of bread and butter and life and death. What we want is not political power, but we do wish to live side by side with other British subjects in peace and amity, and with dignity and self-respect. We, therefore, feel that the moment his Majesty's Government decide to pass legislation differentiating between class and class, there would be an end to that freedom which we have learned to cherish as a priceless heritage of living under the British Crown.

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## BRITISH INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL

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*Mr M. K. Gandhi wrote to "India" from Johannesburg under date June 22, 1908 —*

Various statements have appeared in the Press regarding the charge of breach by the Colonial Secretary of the compromise between the Government and the Asiatic communities. Hitherto, owing to the delicate nature of the negotiations that were going on between the Government and the Asiatic communities, it has not been possible to state the case before the public. I am sorry to say that the negotiations came to an abrupt and unsatisfactory end to-day. I use the term unsatisfactory as applicable not merely to the Asiatics but to the whole Empire. General

Smuts was willing to repeal the offending Asiatic Act, which has cost the Asiatics treasures of money and much trouble, including incarceration of over two hundred innocent Asiatics, mostly British. This shows that General Smuts was, and still is, under promise to repeal the Act. But if he was willing to carry out the letter of the compromise, he wanted to break the spirit of it. For it will not be argued that the material position of the Asiatics was, under and after the compromise, to be lower than under the Asiatic Act. Yet such was General Smuts' draft which I was to day pained to study, and, so far as I was concerned, to reject.

The draft measure proposed to treat the following as prohibited immigrants: (a) Asiatics possessing educational qualifications prescribed by the Immigrants Restriction Act, (b) Asiatics, whether in or out of the Colony, holding Dutch registration certificates under law 3 of 1885, for which they paid £3, (c) other Asiatics who were residents of the Transvaal before the war, and who could prove before a court of law their previous domicile, (d) those Asiatics whose claims have been rejected by Mr. Chamberlain (for these it is contended only that they should have the right to have their claims investigated by a judicial tribunal, not finally disposed of by an administrative official). In rejecting these claims for consideration and adjudication, not for admission, *ipso facto*, General Smuts has misread the passive resistance struggle. It was undertaken not for selfish purposes, but for the benefit of the Asiatics as a whole and (shall I add?) even of the Empire. Moreover, he has wrecked a whole compromise to avoid the possible accession to the Asiatic population of the Colony of 2,000 Asiatics as an outside figure. I told the people an 'accession', but in fact, they are

already domiciled residents of the Colony, though General Smuts' draft ignored their rights

The position of the Asiatics is simple. They must revert to the condition that prevailed in January last in this matter, and they have been advised to withdraw their voluntary application forms. General Smuts has declined to return them. If he had the courage to face the passive resisters, he would return them without much ado. Asiatics were labouring under a cloud of suspicion up to January last. Mr Duncan had levelled the charge, and it was repeated even in the highest places, that there was an organised illicit entry of Asiatics. The fact that over 7,600 out of 9,000 have already proved their *bona fide* disposes of the charge. It was in order to refute that foul charge that voluntary registration was tendered, and for no other reason. The Asiatics, therefore, approach the public with clean hands. Moreover, they have shown by their sufferings that they have the right to command sympathy from a humanitarian public. Lastly, they have shown by some of their leaders being severely assaulted by their own countrymen that they are just as eager to serve the Government as they are to serve their countrymen. General Smuts' Act will be that of the Government, and the Government's will be the white man's—mostly British. "When I explained the compromise to my countrymen, the less thinking among them said, "Do not trust the white man. Repeal of the Act should precede voluntary registration and not succeed it." I told them that that was not a dignified position to take up. In tampering with the compromise I venture to say that General Smuts does not know what he is doing. Will the Englishmen in the Colony tolerate the position when their main intention is granted that future immigration of Asiatics should be effectively controlled?

## THE ISSUE AT STAKE

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*All hopes of negotiations having failed, the Transvaal British Indian Deputation in London, under the signatures of Messrs M. K. Gandhi and Hayes Habib, issued the following statement, under date 5th November, 1909*

The Transvaal British Indian Deputation arrived in London on the 10th day of July last. The enclosed statement of the British Indian case in that Colony was prepared immediately after the arrival in London of that Deputation, but it was not issued as delicate negotiations with a view to arriving at a quiet settlement were in progress. We have now learnt that these have proved abortive and that the position remains unchanged. It has, therefore, become necessary for us to inform the public as to how the matter stands and what the struggle of the British Indians in the Transvaal means.

The ex Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, during its administration as a Crown Colony, writing in a magazine in South Africa in the month of February last, thus correctly summed up the question:

The position of the Indian leaders is that they will tolerate no law which does not put them on an equality with Europeans in regard to restriction on immigration. They are willing to see the number of Asiatics limited by administrative action. They insist on equality in the terms of the law itself.

That is still the position.

Mr. Smuts, the present Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, offers to repeal the Registration Law around which the struggle has been raging for the last three years, and to concede to a limited number of British Indians,

*other* than former residents of the Transvaal, certificates of permanent residence. Were the object aimed at by the British Indians the admission into the Colony of a few more of their brethren, this concession would be material, but the object they have had in view in agitating for the repeal of the Law being to secure legal or theoretical equality in respect of immigration, their purpose is by the proposed maintenance of the legal disability not advanced a step. We are not aware whether the above modification of the present law proposed by Mr. Smuts will take place irrespective of the continuance of the passive resistance at present being offered by the British Indians of the Transvaal, but we are in a position to state that the proposed concession will not satisfy passive resisters. The struggle of the Indian community of that Colony was undertaken in order to obtain the removal of the stigma cast upon the whole of India by this legislation, which imports a racial and colour bar into the Immigration Laws of a British Colony for the first time in the history of Colonial legislation. The principle so laid down that British Indians may not enter the Transvaal because they are British Indians is a radical departure from traditional policy, is un-British and intolerable, and if that principle is accepted even tacitly by British Indians we consider that they will be untrue to themselves, to the land of their birth, and to the Empire to which they belong. Nor is it the passive resisters in the Transvaal who in a matter of this kind have alone to be considered. The whole of India is now awakened to a sense of the insult that the Transvaal legislation offers to her, and we feel that the people here, at the heart of the Empire, cannot remain unmoved by this departure, so unprecedented and so vital, from Imperial traditions. Mr. Smuts'

proposal brings out the issue in the clearest manner possible. If we were fighting not for a principle but for loaves and fishes, he would be prepared to throw them at us in the shape of residential permits for the small number of cultured British Indians that may be required for our wants, but because we insist upon the removal of the implied racial taint from the legislation of the Colony, he is not prepared to yield an inch. He would give us the husk without the kernel. He declines to remove the badge of inferiority, but is ready to change the present rough-looking symbol for a nicely polished one. British Indians, however, decline to be deluded. They may yield everything, occupy any position, but the badge must be removed first. We, therefore, trust that the public will not be misled by the specious concessions that are being offered, into the belief that British Indians because they do not accept them, are unreasonable in their demands, that they are uncompromising, and that, therefore, they do not deserve the sympathy and support of a common sense and practical public. In the final reply received by us from Lord Crewe the following is the position that is taken up:

His Lordship explained to you that Mr Smuts was unable to accept the claim that Asiatics should be placed in a position of equality with Europeans in respect of right of entry or otherwise.

Herein lies the crux. Legal equality in respect of the right of entry, even though never a man does enter, is what British Indians have been fighting for, and according to the reports we have received from the Transvaal, is what some of them, at least, will die for. The only possible justification for holding together the different communities of the Empire under the same sovereignty is the idea of elementary equality, and it is because the Transvaal

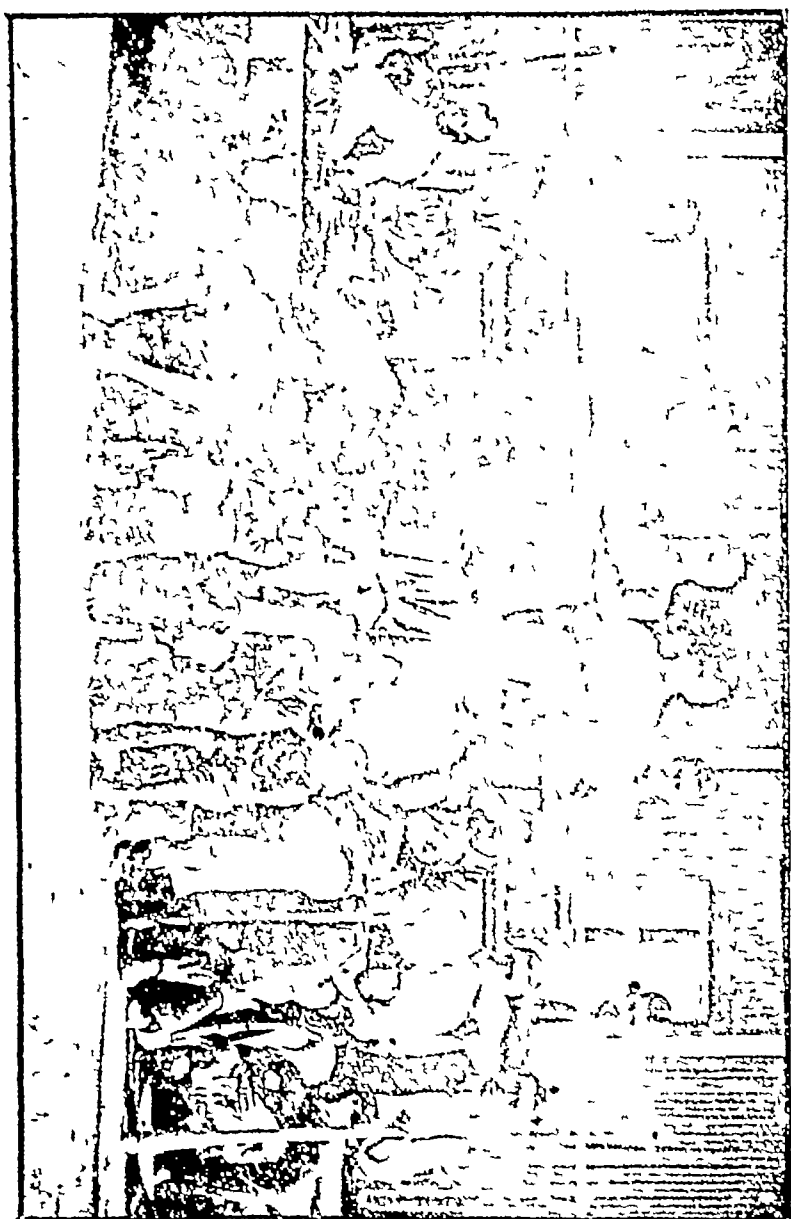
legislation cuts at the very root of this principle that British Indians have offered a stubborn resistance

It would be contrary to fact to argue that no relief can be had in this matter because the Transvaal is a Self Governing Colony, and because now South Africa has got its Union. The difficulty of the situation is due to a mistake committed at the centre of the Empire. The Imperial Government are party to the crime against the Imperial Constitution. They sanctioned when they need not have, and when it was their duty not to have sanctioned, the legislation in question. They are now undoubtedly most anxious to settle this troublesome matter. Lord Crewe has endeavoured to bring about a satisfactory result, but he is too late. Mr. Smuts, perhaps, very properly has reminded his Lordship of the fact that the legislation in question had received Imperial sanction, and that he should or could not now be called upon to retrace his steps, because the British Indians in the Transvaal had undertaken to disregard the legislation, and to suffer the penalties of such disregard. His position as a politician and as an aspirant to high office in "a white South Africa" is unquestionable, but neither the British public nor the Indian public are interested in his position nor are they party to this crime of the Imperial Government.

We may add that during the last four months arrests and imprisonments have gone on unabated. The leaders of the community continue to go to prison. The severity of the prison regulations is maintained. The prison diet has been altered for the worse. Prominent medical men of Johannesburg have certified that the present dietary scale for Indian prisoners is deficient. The authorities, unlike their action during last year,

have ignored the religious scruples of Mahomedan prisoners, and have refused to give facilities for observing the sacred annual fast which millions of Mahomedans scrupulously undergo from year to year. Sixty passive resisters recently came out of the Pretoria gaol emaciated and weak. Their message to us is that, starved as they were, they are ready to be rearrested as soon as the Government wish to lay their hands on them. The Acting Chairman of the British Indian Association has only just been arrested and sentenced to be imprisoned for three months with hard labour. This is his third term. He is a Mahomedan. A brave Parsee, a well educated man, was deported to Natal. He re-entered, and is now undergoing six months' imprisonment with hard labour. He is in gaol for the fifth time. A young Indian, an ex-Volunteer Sergeant, has also gone to gaol for the third time on the same terms as the Parsee. Wives of imprisoned British Indians and their children either take up baskets of fruit, hawk about and earn their living in order to support themselves, or are being supported from contributions. Mr Smuts, when he re-embarked for South Africa, said that he had arrived at an understanding with Lord Crewe that would satisfy the large body of British Indians who were heartily sick of the agitation. His prophecy has been totally disproved by what has happened since.

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### MR JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M P

The United Kingdom owns as its brightest and greatest dependency that enormous Empire of India, with 300,000,000 of subjects, who are as loyal to the Crown as you are yourselves, and among them there are hundreds and thousands of men who are every whit as civilised as we are ourselves—who are if that is anything better born in the sense that they have older traditions and older families, who are men of wealth, men of cultivation, men of distinguished valour, men who have brought whole armies and placed them at the service of the Queen and have in times of great difficulty and trouble saved the Empire by their loyalty. I say, you, who have seen

all this, cannot be willing to put upon those men a slight which, I think, is absolutely unnecessary for your purpose, and which would be calculated to provoke ill-feeling, discontent, irritation and would be most unpalatable to the feelings, not only of Her Majesty the Queen but of all her people.—*Mr. Joseph Chamberlain*

## THE IMMIGRANTS' RESTRICTION BILL

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*Mr. Gandhi supplied the Natal "Mercury" with the following statement respecting the Immigration Bill in May 1913 —*

If the Bill is not amended in several material particulars, I feel that a revival of passive resistance is inevitable. The provisional settlement of 1911 contains two principal conditions to be fulfilled by the Government, namely, that existing rights should be maintained intact in any legislation that might be passed in order to satisfy the Indian claims, and that Transvaal Act No 2 of 1907, subject to reservation of the rights of minors should be repealed, and there should be no racial bar introduced in any such legislation. Both of these conditions are violated by the Bill even in its amended form. Our claim that existing rights should be maintained is fortified by a declaration of the Imperial Government, in their despatch, dated October 7, 1910, in which it is specially laid down that 'any solution (of the Transvaal controversy) which prejudiced or weakened the present position of Indians in the Cape Colony and Natal would not be acceptable to His Majesty's Government,' and Mr. Harcourt emphasised the point once more in his telegram of February 15, 1911, in discussing the Immigration Bill of that year. That existing rights are jeopardised is clear from a consideration of the following facts.

South Africa born Indians have, under the present Cape Immigration Act, the unconditional right to enter that province. This right is now being taken away. If the Bill is not adequately amended, this deprivation will constitute a very serious grievance, and passive resisters will lose all title to respect if for the sake of avoiding the

hardships of gaol or any other penalty to which they might be liable, they were to accept such a bargain. I do not know what other fatal defects there may be in the Bill as amended. The question of domicile, for instance, may have been left in a most unsatisfactory position, and so also that of the right of appeal to the Supreme Court.

The marriage amendment moved by Mr. Alexander, and accepted by the Minister, will, I fear, frustrate the very purpose with which Mr. Alexander moved it in such a public spirited manner. It requires the fulfilment of an impossible condition, namely, registration of marriage at the place of its celebration, in addition to proof of due performance of religious rites. There is, however, no system of State registration of marriage in India. As a matter of fact, a recent arrival from India endeavoured to obtain a certificate of marriage from a Magistrate at Bombay, who refused to issue it on the ground that he was not authorised by law to do so. Nor is this requirement necessary for any purpose whatsoever. The religious celebration is accompanied by so much solemnity, ceremonial and publicity, that it is the best possible safeguard against collusive connexions. Finally the strictness with which the marriage question has been dealt with by the Government is quite unwarranted by past experiences. During my 20 years' experience in South Africa, I have never known of the entry under the Immigration Law of a single Indian woman belonging to the undesirable class.

The second condition of the settlement appears also to have been broken by the Government, in that a declaration is to be required of such Indian immigrants as may possibly be admitted into the Free State, it not being required of European immigrants. The declaration in question will be highly offensive and only irritating, because, in the case

of an educated Indian, who alone could enter that province, it would be wholly unnecessary. It is merely a statement that the declarant shall not hold landed property, trade or farm there disabilities to which he is subject whether he makes the declaration or not. It will be remembered that it was the Free State difficulty that came in the way of a permanent settlement on the two previous occasions. Mr Fisher cannot now settle the controversy by ignoring it, as if it were not of the most vital importance. One can only hope that the Senate will perform its duty as a vigilance chamber and the guardian of unrepresented interests, by insisting upon such amendment of the measure as to fulfil both the letter and the spirit of the provisional settlement.

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## INDIANS AND THEIR EMPLOYERS

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*Speech at Verulam published from the "Sourcerer of the Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa, 1906-1914"*

One of the most important gatherings held just before Mr Gandhi left South Africa was the great meeting of indentured Indians and employers at Verulam. In his address, Mr Gandhi took pains to make the position under the Relief Act absolutely clear to the Indian labourers, and addressed a few earnest words at the close to the European employers of the neighbourhood.

He asked his countrymen to understand that it was wrong for them to consider that the relief that had been obtained had been obtained because he had gone to jail, or his wife, or those who were immediately near and dear to him. It was because *they* had had the good sense and courage to give up their own lives and to sacrifice them-

selves, and in these circumstances he had also to tell them that many causes led to that relief, and one of these was certainly also the most valuable and unstinted assistance rendered by Mr Marshall Campbell of Mount Edgecombe. He thought that their thanks and his thanks were due to him for the magnificent work that he did in the Senate whilst the Bill was passing through it. They would now not have to pay the £3 tax, and the arrears would also be remitted. That did not mean that they were free from their present indentures. They were bound to go through their present indentures faithfully and honestly, but, when those indentures terminated, they were just as free as any other free Indian, and they were entitled, if they would go to the Protector's office, to the same discharge certificate as was granted to those who came before 1895, under Law 25 of 1891. They were not bound to re-indenture nor to return to India. The discharge certificates would be issued to them free of charge. If they wanted, after having gone to India, to return, they could only do so after they had lived for full three years in the Province as free men after serving their indentures. If any of them wished to have assistance for going to India, they could obtain it from the Government if they did not wish to return from India. If, therefore, they wanted to return from India, they would fight shy of that assistance which was given to them by the Government, but would find their own money or borrow it from friends. If they re-indentured, they could come under the same law, namely, Law 25 of 1891. His own advice to them was not to re-indenture, but by all means to serve their present masters under the common law of the country. If ever occasion arose, which, he hoped, would never happen, they now knew what was possible for them to do. But he wanted to

remind them of this one thing, that Victoria County, as also the other Districts of Natal, had not been so free from violence on their own part as the Newcastle District had been. He did not care that provocation had been offered to them or how much they had retaliated with their sticks or with stones, or had burned the sugar cane—that was not Passive Resistance, and, if he had been in their midst, he would have repudiated them entirely and allowed his own head to be broken rather than permit them to use a single stick against their opponents. And he wanted them to believe him when he told them that Passive Resistance pure and simple was an infinitely finer weapon than all the sticks and gunpowder put together. They might strike work, but they might compel nobody else to strike work, and, if, as a result of their strike, they were sentenced to be imprisoned, whipped, or to both, they must suffer even unto death—that was Passive Resistance, nothing else. Nothing else, and nothing less than that, would satisfy the requirements of Passive Resistance. If therefore, he was indentured to Mr Marshall Campbell, or Mr Sanders, or any friends about there, and if he found that he was being persecuted or not receiving justice, in their case he would not even go to the Protector, he would sit tight and say, “My master, I want justice or I won’t work. Give me food if you want to, water if you want to, otherwise, I sit here hungry and thirsty,” and he assured them that the hardest, stoniest heart would be melted. Therefore, let that sink deeply into themselves, that whenever they were afraid of any injury being done to them all, that was the sovereign remedy and that alone was the most effective remedy. If they wanted advice and guidance, and many of them had complained that he was going away, and that

his advice would not be at their disposal, all he could suggest to them was that, although he was going away, Phoenix was not leaving, and, therefore, if they had any difficulty for which they did not wish to pay Mr Langston or other lawyers, they should go to Phoenix and ask Mr West or Mr Chhaganlal Gandhi what was to be done in a particular case. If Mr West or Mr Chhaganlal could help them, they would do so free of charge, and if they could not they would send them to Mr Langston or his other brothers in the law, and he had no doubt that, if they went to Mr Langston with a certificate from Mr West that they were too poor, he would render them assistance free of charge. But, if they were called upon to sign any document whatsoever, his advice to them was not to sign it unless they went to Phoenix and got advice. If Phoenix ever failed them and wanted a farthing from them, then they should shun Phoenix.

The scene before him that morning would not easily fade from his memory, even though the distance between him and them might be great. He prayed that God might help them in all the troubles that might be in store for them, and that their conduct might be such that God might find it possible to help them. And to the European friends living in this country he wished to tender his thanks, and he wished also to ask them to forgive him, if they had ever considered that during that awful time he was instrumental in bringing about any retaliation at all on the part of his countrymen. He wished to give them this assurance that he had no part or parcel in it, and that, so far as he knew, not a single leading Indian had asked the men to retaliate. There were times in a man's life when he lost his senses, he was misled, and under a sense of irritation, fancied or real, he forgot to hate when the brute nature in him rose

and he only went by the law of "might is right," or the law of retaliation—a tooth for a tooth. If his countrymen had done so, whether under a real sense of wrong or fancied, let them forgive him and let them keep a kind corner in their hearts, and, if there were any employers of indentured labour there present who would take that humble request to them, he did ask them not to think always selfishly, though he knew it was most difficult to eradicate self, and let them consider these indentured Indians not merely as cattle which they had to deal with, but as human beings with the same fine feelings, the same fine sentiments as themselves. Let them credit them to the fullest extent with their weaknesses, is also at least with the possibility of all the virtues. Would they not then treat their Indian employees even as brothers? It was not enough that they were well treated as they well treated their cattle. It was not enough that they looked upon them with a kindly eye merely, but it was necessary that employers should have a much broader view of their own position, that they should think of their employees as fellow-human beings and not as Asiatics who had nothing in common with them who were Europeans, and they would also respond to every attention that might be given to them. Then they would have an intelligent interest not merely in the material or physical well being of their men, but in their moral well-being. They would look after their morality, after their children, after their education, after their sanitation, and, if they were herding together in such a manner that they could not but indulge in hideous immorality, that they would themselves recoil with horror from the very imagination that the men who were for the time being under their control should indulge in these things, because they had been placed in these surroundings.

Let them not consider that because these men were drawn from the lowest strata of society that they were beyond reclamation. No, they would respond to every moral pressure that might be brought to bear upon them, and they will certainly realise the moral height that it is possible for every human being, no matter who he is, no matter what tinge of colour his skin possesses

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## FAREWELL TO SOUTH AFRICA

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*The following is Mr Gandhi's farewell speech at Johannesburg prior to his departure from South Africa —*

- Mr Gandhi said that they or circumstances had placed him that evening in a most embarrassing position. Hitherto those who had known him in Johannesburg had known him in the capacity of one of many hosts at gatherings of that kind, but that evening they had placed him in the unfortunate position of being a guest, and he did not know how he would be able to discharge that duty. For the other he thought long experience had fitted him, if he might say so with due humility, most admirably, but the present position was entirely new to him and Mrs Gandhi, and he was exceedingly diffident as to how he was going to discharge the new duty that had been imposed upon him. So much had been said about Mrs Gandhi and himself, their so-called devotion, their so-called self-sacrifice, and many other things. There was one injunction of his religion, and he thought it was true of all religions, and that was that when one's praises were sung one should fly from those praises, and, if one could not do that, one should stop one's ears, and if one could not do either of these things — one

should dedicate everything that was said in connection with one to the Almighty, the Divine Essence, which pervaded everyone and everything in the Universe, and he hoped that Mrs Gandhi and he would have the strength to dedicate all that had been said that evening to that Divine Essence

Of all the precious gifts that had been given to them those four boys were the most precious, and probably Mr Chamney could tell them something of the law of adoption in India and what Mr and Mrs Naidoo, both of them old gaol-birds, had done. They had gone through the ceremony of adoption, and they had surrendered their right to their four children and given them (Mr and Mrs. Gandhi) the charge. He did not know that they were worthy to take charge of those children. He could only assure them that they would try to do their best. The four boys had been his pupils when he had been conducting a school for Passive Resisters at Tolstoy Farm and later on at Phoenix. Then when Mrs Naidoo had sought imprisonment, the boys had been taken over to Johannesburg, and he thought that he had lost those four pearls, but the pearls had returned to him. He only hoped that Mrs Gandhi and he would be able to take charge of the precious gift.

Johannesburg was not a new place to him. He saw many friendly faces there, many who had worked with him in many struggles in Johannesburg. He had gone through much in life. A great deal of depression and sorrow had been his lot, but he had also learnt during all those years to love Johannesburg even though it was a Mining Camp. It was in Johannesburg that he had found his most precious friends. It was in Johannesburg that the foundation for the great struggle of Passive Resistance was laid in the September of 1906. It was in Johannesburg that he had found a

friend, a guide, and a biographer in the late Mr. Doke. It was in Johannesburg that he had found in Mrs. Doke a loving sister, who had nursed him back to life when he had been assaulted by a countryman who had misunderstood his mission and who misunderstood what he had done. It was in Johannesburg that he had found a Kallenbach, a Polak, a Miss Schlesin, and many another who had always helped him and had always cheered him and his countrymen. Johannesburg, therefore, had the holiest associations of all the holy associations that Mrs. Gandhi and he would carry back to India, and, as he had already said on many another platform, South Africa, next to India, would be the holiest land to him and to Mrs. Gandhi and to his children, for, in spite of all the bitternesses, it had given them those life-long companions. It was in Johannesburg again that the European Committee had been formed, when Indians were going through the darkest stage in their history, presided over then, as it still was, by Mr. Hosken. It was last, but not least, Johannesburg that had given Vallabhbhai, that young girl, whose picture rose before him even as he spoke, who had died in the cause of truth. Simple minded in faith—she had not the knowledge that he had, she did not know what Passive Resistance was, she did not know what it was the community would gain, but she was simply taken up with unbounded enthusiasm for her people—went to goal, came out of it a reel, and within a few days died. It was Johannesburg again that produced a Nagappan and a Narayanasamy, two lovely youths hardly out of their teens, who also died. But, both Mrs. Gandhi and he stood here, before them. He and Mrs. Gandhi had worked in the front line, the others had worked behind the scenes, in the background where they were gone, except this, that what

they were doing was right and proper, and, if any praise was due anywhere at all, it was due to those three who died. They had had the name of Habibtsingh given to them. He (the speaker) had had the privilege of serving imprisonment with him. Habibtsingh was 75 years old. He was an ex-indentured Indian, and when he (the speaker) asked him why he had come there, that he had gone there to seek his grave, the brave man replied, "What does it matter? I know what you are fighting for. You have not to pay the £3 tax, but my fellow-indentured Indians have to pay that tax, and what more glorious death could I meet?" He had met that death in the goal at Durban. No wonder if Passive Resistance had fired and quickened the conscience of South Africa! And, therefore, whenever he had spoken, he had said that, if the Indian community had gained anything through this settlement, it was certainly due to Passive Resistance, but it was certainly not due to Passive Resistance alone. He thought that the cablegram that had been read that evening showed that they had to thank that noble Viceroy, Lord Huddinge, for his great effort. He thought, too, that they had to thank the Imperial Government, who, during the past few years, in season and out of season, had been sending despatches after despatches to General Botha, and asking him to consider their standpoint—the Imperial standpoint. They had to thank also the Union Government for the spirit of justice they had adopted that time. They had, too, to thank the noble members of both Houses of the Legislature who had made those historic speeches and brought about the settlement, and, lastly, they had to thank the Opposition also for their co-operation with the Government in bringing about the passage of the Bill, in spite of the jarring note produced by the Natal Members

When one considered all those things, the service that he and Mrs Gandhi might have rendered could be only very little. They were but two out of many instruments that had gone to make this settlement. And what was that settlement? In his humble opinion, the value of the settlement, if they were to examine it, would consist not in the intrinsic things they had received, but in the sufferings and the sorrows long drawn out that were necessary in order to achieve those things. If an outsider were to come there and find that there was a banquet given to two humble individuals for the humble part they played in a settlement which freed indentured Indians from a tax which they should never have been called upon to pay, and if he were told also that some redress were given in connection with their marriages, and that their wives who were lawfully married to them according to their own religions had not hitherto been recognised as their wives, but by this settlement those wives were recognised as valid wives according to the law of South Africa, that outsider would laugh, and consider that those Indians, or those Europeans who had joined them in having a banquet, and giving all those praises and so on, must be a parcel of fools. What was there to gloat over in having an intolerable burden removed which might have been removed years ago? What was there in a lawful wife's being recognised in a place like South Africa? But, proceeded Mr Gandhi, he conferred with Mr Duncan in an article he wrote some years ago, when he truly analysed the struggle, and found that behind that struggle for concrete rights lay the great spirit which acted for an abstract principle, and the fight which was undertaken in 1906, although it was a fight against a particular law, was a fight undertaken in order to carry out the spirit that was seen about to over-shadow the

whole of South Africa, and to undermine the glorious British Constitution, of which the Chairman had spoken so loftily that evening, and about which he (the speaker) shared his views. It was his knowledge, right or wrong, of the British Constitution which bound him to the Empire. Tear that Constitution to shreds and his loyalty also would be torn to shreds. Keep that Constitution intact, and they held him bound a slave to that Constitution. He had felt that the choice lay for himself and his fellow-countrymen between two courses, when this spirit was brooding over South Africa, either to sunder themselves from the British Constitution, or to fight in order that the ideals of that Constitution might be preserved—but only the ideals. Lord Ampthill had said, in a preface to Mr Doke's book, that the theory of the British Constitution must be preserved at any cost if the British Empire was to be saved from the mistakes that all the previous Empires had made. Practice might bend to the temporary aberration through which local circumstances might compel them to pass, it might bend before unreasoning or unreasonable prejudice, but theory once recognised could never be departed from, and this principle must be maintained at any cost. And it was that spirit which had been acknowledged now by the Union Government, and acknowledged how nobly and loftily. The words that General Smuts so often emphasised still rang in his ears. He had said, "Gandhi, this time we want no misunderstanding, we want no mental or other reservations, let all the cards be on the table, and I want you to tell me wherever you think that a particular passage or word does not read in accordance with your own reading," and it was so. That was the spirit in which he approached the negotiations. When he remembered General Smuts of a few years ago, when he told

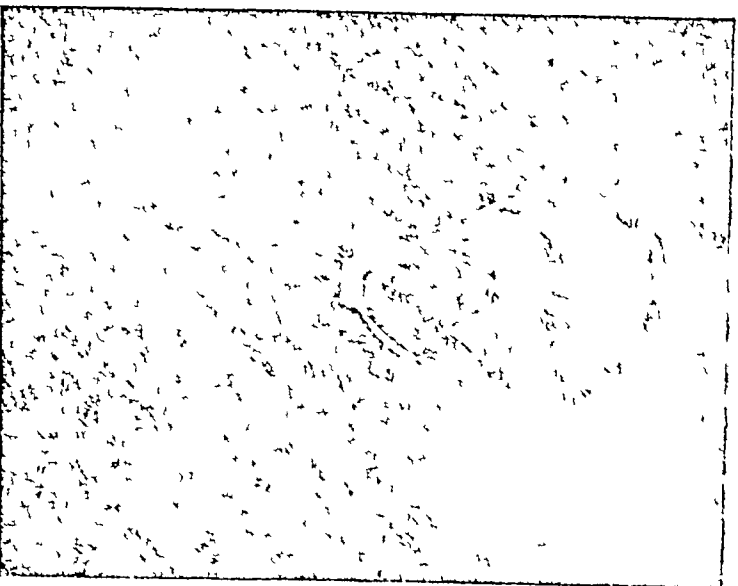
Lord Crewe that South Africa would not depart from its policy of racial distinction, that it was bound to retain that distinction, and that, therefore, the sting that lay in this Immigration Law would not be removed, many a friend, including Lord Ampthill, asked whether they could not for the time being suspend their activity. He had said "No." If they did that it would undermine his loyalty, and even though he might be the only person he would still fight on. Lord Ampthill had congratulated him, and that great nobleman had never deserted the cause even when it was at its lowest ebb, and they saw the result that day. They had not by any means to congratulate themselves on a victory gained. There was no question of a victory gained, but the question of the establishment of the principle that, so far as the Union of South Africa at least was concerned, its legislation would never contain the racial taint, would never contain the colour disability. The practice would certainly be different. There was the Immigration Law—it recognised no racial distinctions, but in practice they had arranged, they had given a promise, that there should be no undue influx from India as to immigration. That was a concession to present prejudice. Whether it was right or wrong was not for him to discuss then. But it was the establishment of the principle which had made the struggle so important in the British Empire, and the establishment of that principle which had made those sufferings perfectly justifiable and perfectly honourable, and he thought that, when they considered the struggle from that standpoint, it was a perfectly dignified thing for any gathering to congratulate it. If upon such a vindication of the principles of the British Constitution. One word of caution he wished to utter regarding the settlement. The settlement was



they had called a great victory. Everywhere he had noticed that healthy tone. He asked European friends to continue that activity, either through the European Committee or through other channels, and to give his fellow-countrymen their help and extend that fellow-feeling to them also, so that they might be able to work out their own salvation.

To his countrymen he would say that they should wait and nurse the settlement, which he considered was all that they could possibly and reasonably have expected, and that they would now live to see, with the co-operation of their European friends, that what was promised was fulfilled, that the administration of the existing laws was just, and that vested rights were respected in the administration, that after they had nursed these things, if they cultivated European public opinion, making it possible for the Government of the day to grant a restoration of the other rights of which they had been deprived, he did not think that there need be any fear about the future. He thought that, with mutual co-operation, with mutual good will, with due response on the part of either party, the Indian community need never be a source of weakness to that Government or to any Government. On the contrary, he had full faith in his countrymen that, if they were well treated, they would always rise to the occasion and help the Government of the day. If they had insisted on their rights on many an occasion, he hoped that the European friends who were there would remember that they had also discharged the responsibilities which had faced them.

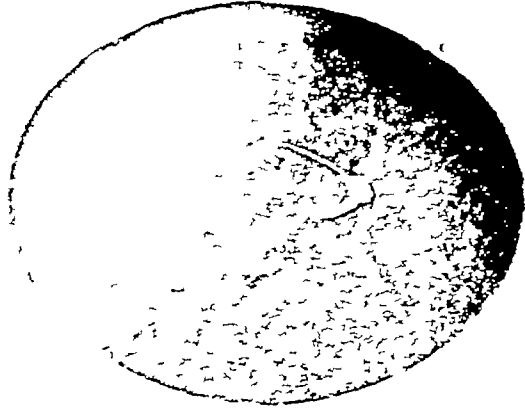
And now it was time for him to close his remarks and say a few words of farewell only. He did not know how he could express those words. The best years of his



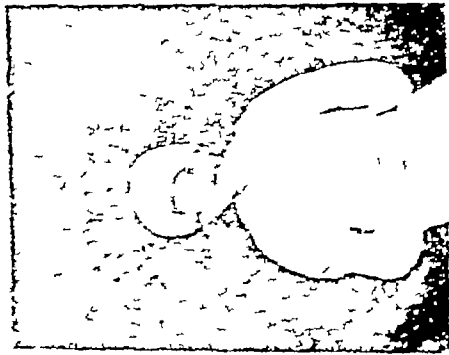
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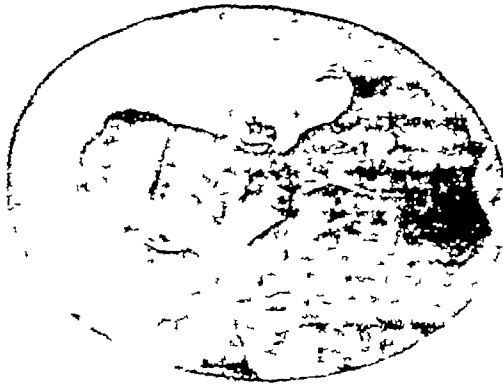
MR. H. S. L. POLAK



REV J DUKE



M. K GANDHI



KALLENBACK

life had been passed in South Africa India, as his distinguished countryman, Mr Gokhale, had reminded him, had become a strange land to him South Africa he knew, but not India He did not know what impelled him to go to India, but he did know that the parting from them all, the parting from the European friends who had helped him through thick and thin, was a heavy blow, and one he was least able to bear, yet he knew he had to part from them He could only say farewell and ask them to give him their blessing, to pray for them that their heads might not be turned by the praise they had received, that they might still know how to do their duty to the best of their ability, that they might still learn that first, second, and last should be the approbation of their own conscience, and that then whatever might be due to them would follow in its own time — *From "The Souvenir of the Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa"*

## RECEPTION AT MADRAS

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*In reply to the welcome address read by Mr. G. A. Natesan on behalf of the Indian South African League, at a meeting at the Victoria Public Hall, Madras, on Wednesday the 21st April, 1915 with Dr Sir S Subramania Iyer in the Chair, Mr Gandhi said —*

Mr Chairman and Friends,—On behalf of my wife and myself I am deeply grateful for the great honour that you here in Madras, and, may I say, this Presidency, have done to us and the affection that has been lavished upon us in this great and enlightened,

NOT BENIGHTED—PRESIDENCY.

If there is anything that we have deserved, as has been stated in this beautiful address, I can only say I lay it at the feet of my Master under whose inspiration I have been working all this time under exile in South Africa (*Hear, hear*) In so far as the sentiments expressed in this address are merely prophetic, Sir, I accept them as a blessing and as a prayer from you and from this great meeting that both my wife and I myself may possess the power, the inclination, and the life to dedicate whatever we may develop in this sacred land of ours to the service of the Motherland (*Cheers*) It is no wonder that we have come to Madras As my friend, Mr Natesan, will perhaps tell you, we have been overdue and we have neglected Madras But we have done nothing of the kind. We knew that we had a corner in your hearts and we knew that you will not misjudge us if we did not hasten to Madras before going to the other presidencies and to

other towns . . The drafters of this beautiful address have, I venture to say, exaggerated the importance of the little work that I was able to do in South Africa out of all proportion (*cries of "no, no"*) As I have said on so many platforms, India has been still suffering under the hypnotic influences produced upon it by that great saintly politician, Mr Gokhale (*Cheers*) He issued in my favour a certificate which you have taken at its surface value, and it is that certificate which has placed me in a most embarrassing position, because I do not know that I shall be able to answer the expectations that have been raised about myself, and about my wife in the work that lies before us in the future on behalf of this country. But, Sir, if one-tenth of the language that has been used in this address is deserved by us, what language do you propose to use for those who have lost their lives, and therefore finished their work on behalf of your suffering countrymen in South Africa? What language do you propose to use for Nagappan and Narayanasawmy, lads of seventeen or eighteen years, who braved in simple faith all the trials, all the sufferings, and all the indignities for the sake of the honour of the Motherland (*Cheers*) What language do you propose to use with reference to Villamma, that sweet girl of seventeen years who was discharged from Maritzburg prison, skin and bone, suffering from fever to which she succumbed after about a month's time (*Cries of shame*)

#### THE MADRASSIS.

It was the Madiassis who of all the Indians were singled out by the great Divinity that rules over us for this great work Do you know that in the great city of Johannesburg, it is considered among the Madrassis to find a single Madrassi dishonoured if he has not passed

through the jails once or twice during this terrible crisis that your countrymen in South Africa went through during these eight long years? You have said that I inspired these great men and women, but I cannot accept that proposition. It was they, the simple minded folk, who worked away in faith, never expecting the slightest reward, who inspired me, who kept me to the proper level, and who compelled me by their great sacrifice, by their great faith, by their great trust in the great God to do the work that I was able to do (*Cheers*) It is my misfortune that I and my wife have been obliged to work in the lime-light, and you have magnified out of all proportion (*cries of No! No!*) this little work we have been able to do. Believe me, my dear friends, that if you consider, whether in India or in South Africa, it is possible for us, poor mortals, the same individuals, the same stuff of which you are made, if you consider that it is possible for us to do anything whatsoever without your assistance and without your doing, the same thing that we would be prepared to do, you are lost, and we are also lost, and our services will be in vain, I do not for one moment believe that the inspiration was given by us. The inspiration was given by them to us, and we were able to be interpreters between the powers who called themselves the Governors and those men for whom redress was so necessary. We were simply links between those two parties and nothing more. It was my duty, having received the education that was given to me by my parents, to interpret what was going on in our midst to those simple folk, and they rose to the occasion. They realised the importance of birth in India, they realised the might of religious force, and it was they who inspired us, and let them who have shed their blood, and who have died for you and me, let

them inspire you and us We are still living, and who knows whether the devil will not possess us to-morrow and we shall not forsake the post of duty before any new danger that may face us But these three have gone for ever.

#### THE REST OF INDIA

An old man of 75 from the United Provinces, Hardut Singh, has also joined the majority and died in jail in South Africa, and he deserved the crown that you would seek to impose upon us. These young men deserve all the adjectives that you have so affectionately, but blindly lavished upon us It was not only the Hindus who struggled, but there were Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians, and almost every part of India was represented in the struggle They realised the common danger, and they realised also what their destiny was as Indians, and it was they, and they alone, who matched the soul-force against the physical forces ( *Loud applause* )

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## THE INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN LEAGUE

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*At the General Meeting of the Indian South African League, held at the premises of Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, on Friday, May 7, 1915, with Devan Bahadur M. Audinarayana Iyah in the Chair, Mr G. A. Natesan, one of the Joint Secretaries, presented a statement of accounts of the League and wound up by urging that the balance of the League's Fund might be handed over to Mr Gandhi who had undertaken to look after the interests of the South Africa returned Indians and their dependents. The Resolution was unanimously passed. Mr Gandhi in the course of his reply made a brief statement and said —*

The passive resistance struggle started with the Asiatic struggle in the Transvaal in 1906. As it went on stage after stage, it, owing to the exigencies of the case and as a matter of course, expanded and embraced the following further points, viz, (1) the removal of racial disability in the Immigration Legislation of the Union of South Africa, (2) the restoration of the status of Indian wives whether married in accordance with Hindu or Mahomedan religious rites as it originally existed before what was known in South Africa as the Searle Judgment, (3) repeal of the annual £7 tax which was payable by every ex-indentured Indian, his wife and his children—male and female—male after reaching 16 years, females after reaching 12, if they decided to settle in the province of Natal as freemen, (4) just administration of existing laws specially affecting British Indians with due regard to vested rights. All the objects were completely gained under the settlement

of last year, and they have been embodied so far as legislation was necessary in what was known as the Indian Relief Act and otherwise in the correspondence that took place between General Smuts and himself immediately after the passing of the Act referred to. Such being the case and as the Indian South African League was formed solely for the purpose of assisting the struggle, it could well dissolve itself. Mr Gandhi referred also to the administration of the funds that were sent to him from India and other parts of the Empire. He said that, at every stage of the struggle, a complete statement of income and expenditure was published. The first was sent to Mr Gokhale accompanied with a public letter. The second statement was rendered to Mr Ratan Tata also accompanied with a public letter. The third was ready and was to have been published after consultation with Mr Gokhale and the general committee at Bombay. Such was Mr Gokhale's desire. He (the speaker) was now waiting to see Mr Mut, Mr Petit, the secretary of the committee, and then publish the statement. Mr Gandhi added that there were nearly 30 passive resisters including their families in India who were to be supported. These included the widows and children of the two men who were shot in the course of the struggle. He, therefore, suggested that the small balance which was still with the Indian South African League might well be devoted to their assistance. Mr Gandhi desired to take the opportunity to express the thanks of the South African Indians for the great and valuable assistance it had rendered to them during the most critical times of the struggle. He was not going to mention any names, but he felt it his duty to convey in person as the interpreter of the wishes of many Transvaal deportees, who were in Madras in 1909, of their heartfelt

thanks to Mr Natesan for the devotion which he displayed in looking after their interest during their exile in India. He was glad he was able to convey in person his grateful thanks to the chairman and the members of the League for the moral and material support they had rendered to their cause,



# INDIANS AND THE COLONIES.

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## RECIPROCITY BETWEEN INDIA AND THE DOMINIONS

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*At the Madras Provincial Conference held at Nellore in June, 1915, Mr G A Natesan moved a resolution thanking Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi for the invaluable services they had rendered to the Motherland by their heroic struggle in South Africa. Mr Gandhi, in acknowledging the thanks of the Conference, spoke as follows —*

In so far as sentiment enters into the claims of India, with regard to the status of Indians in the Empire, it seems possible that by a measure of reciprocal treatment as between India and the Dominions this difficulty could be surmounted. Given an outlet for Indian emigrants in East Africa, it ought not to be beyond the powers of statesmanship to arrange that India should have the power to exclude white men of the working class, just as the Dominions exclude Indians. Or rather it might be arranged that the number of Indians to be admitted to any one of the white States of the Empire should bear a relative proportion to the white population of the State. As a matter of fact, if the proportion agreed on is to avoid the necessity for removing some of the Asiatics now in the Dominions, it will have to be something like twice as great as the number of the whites in India in relation to the total population. The existing white community in India, inclusive of troops, bears the proportion of about

1 2,000 of the native population. In Canada there are now about 8,000 Indians in a total population of 8,000,000. A ratio 1 : 1,000 as suggested would therefore, permit the Indian colony in Canada to be increased by about 5,000. In Australia there are rather more than 5,000 Indians, and under 5,000,000 white men at present, but the excess over the 1 : 1,000 ratio is trifling. In New Zealand, where there are about 1 250 Indians, this ratio is almost exactly conformed to by the existing situation. South Africa presents a difficulty since the South African Indians already exceed a proportion of one to ten of the white residents. But South Africa differs from its sister Dominions, since it is the only one which has a native population of more than negligible size. The Indian section of the composite racial problem—presented by the Union—might perhaps be adjusted somewhat by offering inducements to South African Indians to transfer themselves to East Africa. The conferring of full political rights on the small Indian communities domiciled in the Dominions would then be the only step necessary to meet every legitimate aspiration of Indians for equality of treatment and the recognition of their claims as British subjects.

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## INDIAN AND EUROPEAN EMIGRANTS.

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*Mr. M. K. Gandhi, in moving the Resolution on India and the Colonies at the Bombay Congress of 1915, said —*

Mr President and Friends,— the Resolution that stands in my name reads thus —

The Congress regrets that the existing laws affecting Indians in South Africa and Canada have not, in spite of the liberal and imperialistic declarations of Colonial statesmen, been justly and equitably administered, and this Congress trusts that the Self-Governing Colonies will extend to the Indian emigrants equal rights with European emigrants and that the Imperial Government will use all possible means to secure the rights which have been hitherto unjustly withheld from them, thus causing widespread dissatisfaction and discontent

Friends,—It is an irony of fate that whilst this vast assembly will be regretting the hostile attitude that has been adopted by the Self-Governing Colonies, a Contingent of your countrymen formed in South Africa will be nearing the theatre of war in order to help the sick and the wounded, and I am in possession of facts in connection with this Contingent formed in South Africa which shows that it is composed of the middle classes which, in accordance with the *Times of India*, are going to form the future self-governing nation. Those men are drawn from ex-indentured Indians and their children, from the petty hawkers, the toilers, the traders, and yet the Colonies do not consider it necessary to alter their attitudes nor do I see the logic in altering their policy. It is the fashion now-a-days to consider that because our humble share in not being disloyal to the Government at the present juncture, we are entitled to the rights which have

been hitherto withheld from us, as if those rights were withheld because our loyalty was suspected. No, my friends, if they have been withheld from us, the reasons are different and those reasons will have to be altered. They are due, some of them to undying prejudices, to economic causes and these will have to be examined, but prejudice will have to be cut down. And what are the hardships that our countrymen are labouring under in South Africa, in Canada, and the other Self Governing Colonies? In South Africa the Settlement of 1914 secures what the passive resisters were fighting for and nothing more, and they were fighting for the restoration of legal equality in connection with emigrants from British India and nothing more.

That legal equality has been restored, but the domestic troubles still remain and if it was not the custom unfortunately inherited for the last forty years that the predominant language in this assembly should be English, our Madras friends will have taken good care to have learnt one of the northern vernaculars, and then there are men enough in South Africa who would tell you about the difficulties that we have to go through even now in South Africa in connection with holding landed property, in connection with men who having been once domiciled in South Africa return to South Africa, their difficulties in connection with the admission of their children, their difficulties in connection with holding licenses of trade. These are, if I may so call them, bread and butter difficulties. There are other difficulties which I shall not enumerate just now. In Canada it is not possible for those members of the Sikhs who are domiciled there to bring their wives and their children. (*Cries of shame, shame*) The law is the same,

but administration is widely unequal, so unequal that they cannot bring their wives and children, and the law or the administration still remains the same in spite of declarations about justice and what not, in view of the hostilities and in view of the splendid aid which India is said to have rendered to the Empire. How are these difficulties to be met. I do not intend to go into details, but the Congress proposes that this difficulty can be met by an appeal to the sense of justice of the Colonial statesmen and by an appeal to the Imperial Government. I fear that the Congress can only do this, but the Resolution so far as it goes in one respect is inadequate to the occasion. Lord Hardinge, only a few months ago, made a fervent appeal to Indian publicists and to Indian public statesmen for helping him to an honourable solution which will retain the dignity of India, at the same time, not because of any trouble to the Self-Governing Colonies. Lord Hardinge is still waiting for an answer, that answer is not supplied by the Congress, nor can it be by the Congress, it is to be supplied by an association the specialists, if I may so call them. The Congress has given them the lead, and it is for these associations to frame the details in which they will have to examine the rival claims and to offer to Lord Hardinge a solution which shall be saturated with details, a solution which will satisfy the Colonial Governments as well as the Indian people and will not take away anything whatsoever from the just demands that this Resolution makes. With these words I have much pleasure in proposing this Resolution

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## INDENTURED LABOUR

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*The following is a pronouncement made by Mr. Gandhi during the strenuous agitation made throughout India in the early part of 1917 for the complete abolition of Indenture —*

There is no doubt that we are engaged in a severe struggle for the preservation of our honour, and that, if we do not take care, the promise made by Lord Hardinge, that indentured labour should soon be a thing of the past, may be reduced to a nullity. The Viceregal pronouncement just made seems to set at rest one fear, that the system may be prolonged for a further period of five years, which, as Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar showed at Poona, would, in reality, mean ten years. We are thankful to Lord Chelmsford for his assurance. And we are thankful, too, to that good Englishman, Mr. C. F. Andrews, for the lead that he gave us in the matter. So soon as he gained the information from Fiji that five years' extension was taken by the planters of those islands as a settled fact, he forsook his sick bed and his rest at Shanti Niketan, and sounded for us the call of duty.

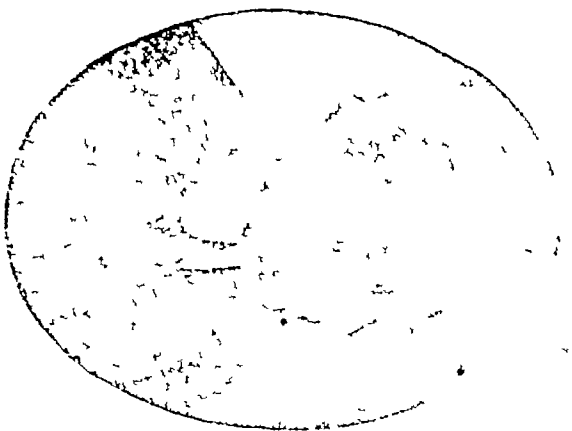
But if one cloud, that threatened to destroy our hopes, seems to have disappeared, another equally dangerous looms on the horizon. The conditions of abolition, as stated by Lord Hardinge last March, are these — "On behalf of His Majesty's Government, he (the Secretary of State) has asked us, however, to make it clear that the existing system of recruiting must be maintained until the conditions under which labour should be permitted to proceed to the Colonies, should have been worked out

in conjunction with the Colonial Office and the Crown Colonies concerned, until proper safeguards in the Colonies should have been provided, and until they should have had reasonable time to adjust themselves to the change, a period which must necessarily depend on circumstances and conditions imperfectly known at present" Those of us who know anything of the system knew that it was well-nigh impossible to find new conditions which would be economically sound for the planters, and morally sound for us. We felt that the Government would soon find this out for themselves, and that, in view of Lord Hardinge's whole-hearted disapproval of the system, his view of the nearness of the end would coincide with our own. But now a different situation faces us. Nearly a year has gone by, and we discover that the planters of Fiji have been led to believe that they will have five years more of the system, and at the end of it new conditions may after all be a change in name but not in substance. Let Mr Bonar Law's despatch speak for itself. Writing under date March 4, 1916, to the Acting Governor of Fiji, he says — "The Secretary of State for India is satisfied that it would not be possible for the Government of India to continue to defeat by a bare official majority resolutions in their Legislative Council, urging the abolition of indenture, that in his opinion, the strong and universal feeling in India on this subject makes it a question of urgency, and that he has accepted the conclusion that indentured emigration must be abolished." He then proceeds — "Though, from the point of view of the Colonies concerned, the decision which the Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India have taken is to be regretted, I recognise that the final decision upon this question must rest with the Indian

Government" Thus the humanities of the question are tacitly supposed to be no concern of the Colonies

Now mark this significant paragraph, culled from the same illuminating despatch — "I have, therefore, agreed to the appointment of an inter-departmental committee to consider what system should be substituted for the system of indenture, and have meanwhile suggested that recruiting under indenture should be allowed for a further period of five years, and should cease at the end of that period The Secretary of State for India is anxious that the change of system should be brought about with as little disturbance as possible to the economic interests of the Colonies, and that he has made it clear that the existing system must be maintained until a properly safeguarded system has been devised" Mr Andrews has been twitted for having referred to the five years' extension Let his critics explain away Mr Bonar Law's emphatic pronouncement published in the Fiji newspapers What with this official statement and the Secretary of State for India's solicitude for the economic interests of the planters, our cause may easily be lost, if we are found unwatchful

In the light of the Viceregal speech and Mr Bonar Law's despatch, our duty seems to be clear We must strengthen the Government's hands where necessary, and even stimulate their activity, so that this inter-departmental committee is not allowed to frustrate our hopes It is a body wherein the influence of the Crown Colonies and the Colonial Office will be preponderant It is a body which has to find a substitute which would be acceptable to us As I hold, it will be a vain search, if the moral well-being of the labourer is to be the primary consideration But, if the planters can have their own way, we know that they will urge an impossible substitute, and, in the event



I, W RICH



LORD AMPHILL



SIR M M BROWNAQCREE



LORD HARDINGE .

Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust, an opinion which we who watch their struggles from afar cannot but share. They have violated, as they intended to violate, those laws, with full knowledge of the penalties involved and ready with all courage and patience to endure those penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India—deep and burning,—and not only of India, but of all those who, like myself, without it being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country. (Speech at Madras, December, 1912)

of its rejection by us, they will, in accordance with Mr Bonai Law's despatch, claim continuance of recruiting under indenture. It must, therefore, be clearly understood that the onus of producing an acceptable substitute rests with them and not with us. They have had more than a year already. Lord Hardinge's despatch, urging total abolition, is dated the 15th October, 1915. The committee is to sit in May next. This period for finding a substitute is long enough, in all conscience. Either Mr Andrews' harrowing picture of the conditions of life in Fiji is true or it is untrue. We believe it to be true, and it has never been seriously attacked. And in waiting for over a year, we shall have waited almost beyond the point of endurance. Substitute or no substitute, we are entitled, for the sake of our motherhood, for the sake of our own honour and reputation, and, indeed, that of the Empire, to the unconditional abolition of this last remnant of slavery. Natal stopped the system without the provision of a substitute. Mauritius has done likewise. The Johannesburg mines survived not only the shock of an abrupt termination of Chinese labour, but the withdrawal of every Chinese labourer from the country as fast as transport could be got ready.

Capital is both bold and timid. If only we shall do our duty, if only the Government of India will steel their hearts against the blandishments of the Fijian and West Indian planters, there is, no doubt, that these people will know how to save their millions, without India's having to go to their rescue.

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## INDIAN COLONIAL EMIGRATION

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*The following is the full text of an article published in the ' Indian Review,' for September 1917*

I have carefully read the resolution issued at Simla by the Government of India on the 1st instant, embodying the report of the Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London. It will be remembered that this was the conference referred to in the Viceregal speech of last year at the opening of the sessions of the Viceregal Legislative Council. It will be remembered, too, that this was the Conference which Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha were to have attended but were unable to attend owing to their having returned to India before the date of the meeting of the Conference. It is stated in the report under discussion that these gentlemen were able to discuss the question of emigration to certain English Colonies informally with the two Secretaries of State, i.e., the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Lord Islington, Sir A. Steel Maitland, and Messrs. Seton, Grindle, Green and Macnaughton constituted the Conference. To take the wording of the Resolution, this Conference sat "to consider the proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji." The public should, therefore, note that this assisted emigration is to be confined only to the four Crown Colonies mentioned and not to the Self Governing Colonies of South Africa, Canada or Australia, or the Crown Colony of Mauritius. What follows will show the importance of

this distinction. It is something to be thankful for that "the Government of India have not yet considered the report and reserved judgment on all the points raised in it." This is as it should be on a matter so serious as this and one which only last year fairly convulsed the whole of India and which has in one shape or another agitated the country since 1895.

The declaration too that "His Majesty's Government in agreement with the Government of India have decided that indentured emigration shall not be re-opened" is welcome as is also the one that "no free emigrants can be introduced into any Colony until all Indian emigrants already there have been released from existing indentures."

In spite, however, of so much in the report that fills one with gladness, the substantive part of it which sets forth the scheme which is to replace indentured emigration is, so far as one can judge, to say the least of it, disappointing. Stripped of all the phraseology under which the scheme has been veiled, it is nothing less than a system of indentured emigration, no doubt on a more humane basis and safeguarded with some conditions beneficial to the emigrants taking advantage of it.

The main point that should be borne in mind is that the Conference set designedly to consider a scheme of emigration not in the interests of the Indian labourer, but in those of the Colonial employer. The new system, therefore, is devised to help the Colonies concerned. India needs no outlet, at any rate for the present moment, for emigration outside the country. It is debatable whether, in any event, the four Colonies will be the most suitable for Indian colonisation. The best thing, therefore, that can happen from an Indian standpoint is that there should be no assisted emigration from India of

any type whatsoever In the absence of any such assistance, emigration will have to be entirely free and at the risk and expense of the emigrant himself Past experience shows that, in that event, there will be very little voluntary emigration to distant Colonies In the report assisted emigration means, to use a mild expression, stimulated emigration, and surely with the industries of India crying out for labour and with her legitimate resources yet undeveloped, it is madness to think of providing a stimulus for the stay-at home Indian to go out of India Neither the Government nor any voluntary agency has been found capable of protecting from ill-usage the Indian who emigrates either to Burma or Ceylon, much less can any such protection avail in far-off Fiji or the three other Colonies I hope that leaders of public opinion in India will, therefore, take their stand on the one impregnable rock of not wanting any emigration whatsoever to the Colonies It might be argued that we, as a component part of the Empire, are bound to consider the wants of our partners, but this would not be a fair plea to advance so long as India stands in need of all the labour she can produce If, therefore, India does not assist the Colonies, it is not because of want of will but it is due to want of ability An additional reason a politician would be justified in using is that, so long as India does not in reality occupy the position of an equal partner with the Colonies, and so long as her sons continue to be regarded by Englishmen in the Colonies and English employers even nearer home to be fit only as hewers of wood and drawers of water, no scheme of emigration to the Colonies can be morally advantageous to Indian emigrants If the badge of inferiority is always to be worn by them, they can never rise to their full status and any material advantage they will

gain by emigrating can, therefore, be of no consideration.

But let us for the moment consider the new system "The system," it is stated, "to be followed in future will be one of aided emigration and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those Colonies, to train and fit them for life and work there and at the same time, to acquire a supply of the labour essential to the well being of the colonists themselves." So the re-settlement is to be conditional on previous employment under contract and it will be seen in the course of our examination that this contract is to be just as binding as the contracts used to be under indenture. The report has the following humorous passage in it "He will be, in no way, restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection, a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months." This has a flavour of the old indentured system. One of the evils complained of about that system was that the labourer was assigned to an employer. He was not free to choose one himself. Under the new system, the employer is to be selected for the protection of the labourer. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the would-be labourer will never be able to feel the protection devised for him. The labourer is further "to be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries, by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist." This is another inducement to indenture, and I know enough of such schemes to be able to assure both the Government and public that these so-called inducements in the hands of clever manipulators become nothing short of methods of compulsion in respect of innocent an-

## INDIANS AND THE COLONIES.

ignorant Indian labourers It is due to the framers of the scheme that I should draw attention to the fact that they have avoided all criminal penalties for breach of contract. In India itself if the scheme is adopted, we are promised a revival of the much-dreaded depôts and emigration Agents all, no doubt, on a more respectable basis but still of the same type and capable of untold mischief

The rest of the report is not likely to interest the public, but those who wish to study it will, I doubt not, come to the conclusion to which I have been driven, that the framers have done their best to strip the old system of many of the abuses which had crept into it, but they have not succeeded in placing before the Indian public an acceptable scheme I hold that it was an impossible task The system of indenture was one of temporary slavery. it was incapable of being amended, it should only be ended and it is to be hoped that India will never consent to its revival in any shape or form.

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# PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

## HOW THE IDEA ORIGINATED.

*In answer to a question put to him by the Rev Joseph Doke, his biographer, as to the birth and evolution of this principle so far as he was concerned, Mr Gandhi replied as follows —*

"I remember," he said, "how one verse of Gujarati poem, which, as a child, I learned at school, clung to me. In substance it was this —

"If a man gives you a drink of water and you give  
him a drink in return, that is nothing  
Real beauty consists in doing good against evil"

As a child, this verse had a powerful influence over me, and I tried to carry it into practice. Then came the 'Sermon on the Mount' "

"But," said I, "surely the *Bhagavad Gita* came first?"

"No," he replied, "of course I knew the *Bhagavad Gita* in Sanskrit tolerably well, but I had not made its teaching in that particular a study. It was the New Testament which really awakened me to the rightness and value of Passive Resistance. When I read in the 'Sermon on the Mount' such passages as 'Resist not him that is evil but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also,' and 'Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven,' I was simply overjoyed, and found my own opinion confirmed where I least expected it. The *Bhagavad Gita* deepened the impression, and Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God is Within You' gave it permanent form."

*Tolstoy, Ruskin, Thoreau and the Passive Resistance Movement in England " had proved an object lesson, not only to him but to his people, of singular force and interest " Mr. Gandhi's ideal " is not so much to resist evil passively , it has its active complement—to do good in reply to evil " In answer to Rev Joseph Doke he said —*

I do not like the term "passive resistance," it fails to convey all I mean It describes a method, but gives no hint of the system of which it is only part Real beauty, and that is my aim, is in doing good against evil. Still, I adopt the phrase because it is well-known, and easily understood, and because, at present, the great majority of my people can only grasp that idea To me, the ideas which underlie the Gujarati hymn and the "Sermon on the Mount" should revolutionise the whole of life.

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*" The principle of State necessity can bind only those men to disobey God's law, who, for the sake of worldly advantages, try to reconcile the irreconcilable "—Tolstoy*

## THE ORIGIN OF THE MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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*As to how the movement originated in South Africa, here is Mr. Gandhi's statement —*

Some years ago, when I began to take an active part in the public life of Natal, the adoption of this method occurred to me as the best course to pursue, should petitions fail, but, in the then unorganised condition of our Indian community, the attempt seemed useless. Here, however, in Johannesburg, when the Asiatic Registration Act was introduced, the Indian community was so deeply stirred, and so knit together in a common determination to resist it, that the moment seemed opportune. Some action they would take, it seemed to be best for the Colony, and altogether right, that their action should not take a riotous form, but that of Passive Resistance. They had no vote in Parliament, no hope of obtaining redress, no one would listen to their complaints. The Christian churches were indifferent, so I proposed this pathway of suffering, and after much discussion, it was adopted. In September, 1906, there was a large gathering of Indians in the old Empire Theatre, when the position was thoroughly faced, and, under the inspiration of deep feeling, and on the proposal of one of our leading men, they swore a solemn oath committing themselves to Passive Resistance.

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*"I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right"—*  
*Thoreau.*

## STATEMENT BEFORE THE MAGISTRATE

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*When in October, 1908, together with a number of compatriots, Mr Gandhi was arrested and charged at Volksrust, the Transvaal border town, he gave the following evidence on behalf of his fellow countrymen, whom he was defending, though he was not called upon to make these admissions —*

He took the sole responsibility for having advised them to enter the Colony. They had largely been influenced by his advice, though, no doubt, they had used their own judgment. He thought that, in giving that advice, he had consulted the best interests of the State. He asked the accused to enter at a public meeting and individually. They probably, at that time, had no idea of entering the Colony, except, perhaps, one of them. He would certainly admit that he had assisted the accused to enter. He admitted aiding and abetting them to enter the Transvaal. He was quite prepared to suffer the consequences of his action, as he always had been.

*Later, when giving evidence on his own behalf, he said —*

In connection with my refusal to produce my registration certificate and to give thumb impressions or finger-impressions, I think that as an officer of this Court, I owe an explanation. There have been differences between the Government and British Indians, whom I represent as Secretary of the British Indian Association, over the Asiatic Act No. 2 of 1907, and after due deliberation, I took upon myself the responsibility of advising my countrymen not to submit to the primary obligation imposed

by the Act, but still, as law-abiding subjects of the State, to accept its sanctions. Rightly or wrongly, in common with other Asiatics, I consider that the Act in question, among other things, offends our conscience, and the only way, I thought, as I still think, the Asiatics could show their feeling with regard to it was to incur its penalties. And in pursuance of that policy, I admit that I have advised the accused who have preceded me to refuse submission to the Act, as also the Act 36 of 1908, seeing that, in the opinion of British Indians, full relief, that was promised by the Government, has not been granted. I am now before the Court to suffer the penalties that may be awarded me.

*And when he was next sentenced, Mr. Gandhi made the following declaration —*

It is my misfortune that I have to appear before the Court for the same offence the second time. I am quite aware that my offence is deliberate and wilful. I have honestly desired to examine my conduct in the light of past experience, and I maintain the conclusion that, no matter what my countrymen do or think, as a citizen of the State and as a man who respects conscience above everything, I must continue to incur the penalties so long as justice, as I conceive it, has not been rendered by the State to a portion of its citizens. I consider myself the greatest offender in the Asiatic struggle, if the conduct that I am pursuing is held to be reprehensible. I, therefore, regret that I am being tried under a clause which does not enable me to ask for a penalty which some of my fellow-objectors received, but I ask you to impose on me the highest penalty.

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## A CONFESSION OF FAITH

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*The following is an extract from a letter addressed by Mr Gandhi to a friend in India in 1909 —*

(1) There is no impassable barrier between East and West

(2) There is no such thing as Western or European civilization, but there is a modern civilization which is purely material

(3) The people of Europe, before they were touched by modern civilization, had much in common with the people of the East, anyhow the people of India, and even to day Europeans who are not touched by modern civilization, are far better able to mix with Indians than the offspring of that civilization

(4) It is not the British people who are ruling India, but it is modern civilization, through its railways, telegraph, telephone, and almost every invention which has been claimed to be a triumph of civilization

(5) Bombay, Calcutta, and the other chief cities of India are the real plague spots

(6) If British rule was replaced to morrow by Indian rule based on modern methods, India would be no better, except that she would be able then to retain some of the money that is drained away to England, but then India would only become a second or fifth nation of Europe or America

(7) East and West can only and really meet when the West has thrown overboard modern civilization, almost in its entirety. They can also seemingly meet when East

has also adopted modern civilization, but that meeting would be an armed truce, even as it is between, say, Germany and England, both of which nations are living in the Hall of Death in order to avoid being devoured the one by the other

(8) It is simply impertinence for any man or any body of men to begin or contemplate reform of the whole world To attempt to do so by means of highly artificial and speedy locomotion, is to attempt the impossible.

(9) Increase of material comforts, it may be generally laid down, does not in any way whatsoever conduce to moral growth

(10) Medical science is the concentrated essence of Black Magic Quackery is infinitely preferable to what passes for high medical skill.

(11) Hospitals are the instruments that the Devil has been using for his own purpose, in order to keep his hold on his Kingdom They perpetuate vice, misery, and degradation and real slavery I was entirely off the track when I considered that I should receive a medical training. It would be sinful for me in any way whatsoever to take part in the abominations that go on in the hospitals If there were no hospitals for venereal diseases, or even for consumptives, we should have less consumption, and less sexual vice amongst us

(12) India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learnt during the past fifty years The railways, telegraphs, hospitals, lawyers, doctors, and such like have all to go, and the so-called upper classes have to learn to live consciously and religiously and deliberately the simple peasant life, knowing it to be a life giving true happiness.

# PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

(13) India should wear no machine-made clothing whether it comes out of European mills or Indian mills

(14) England can help India to do this, and then she will have justified her hold on India There seem to be many in England to day who think likewise

(15) There was true wisdom in the sages of old having so regulated society as to limit the material condition of the people the rude plough of perhaps five thousand years ago is the plough of the husbandman to day Therein lies salvation People live long under such conditions, in comparative peace much greater than Europe has enjoyed after having taken up modern activity, and I feel that every enlightened man, certainly every Englishman, may, if he chooses, learn this truth and act according to it

It is the true spirit of passive resistance that has brought me to the above almost definite conclusions As a passive resister, I am unconcerned whether such a gigantic reformation, shall I call it, can be brought about among people who find their satisfaction from the present mad rush If I realize the truth of it, I should rejoice in following it, and therefore I could not wait until the whole body of people had commenced All of us who think likewise have to take the necessary step, and the rest, if we are in the right, must follow The theory is there our practice will have to approach it as much as possible Living in the midst of the rush, we may not be able to shake ourselves free from all taint Every time I get into a railway car or use a motor-bus, I know that I am doing violence to my sense of what is right I do not fear the logical result on that basis The visiting of England is bad, and any communication between South Africa and India by means of ocean greyhounds is

also bad, and so on. You and I can, and may, outgrow these things in our present bodies, but the chief thing is to put our theory right. You will be seeing there all sorts and conditions of men. I, therefore, feel that I should no longer withhold from you what I call the progressive step I have taken mentally. If you agree with me, then it will be your duty to tell the revolutionaries and everybody else that the freedom they want, or they think they want, is not to be obtained by killing people or doing violence, but by setting themselves right and by becoming and remaining truly Indian. Then the British rulers will be servants and not masters. They will be trustees, and not tyrants, and they will live in perfect peace with the whole of the inhabitants of India. The future, therefore, lies not with the British race, but with the Indians themselves, and if they have sufficient self-abnegation and abstemiousness, they can make themselves free this very moment, and when we have arrived in India at the simplicity which is still ours largely and which was ours entirely until a few years ago, it will still be possible for the best Indians and the best Europeans to see one another throughout the length and breadth of India, and act as the leaven. When there was no rapid locomotion, teachers and preachers went on foot, from one end of the country to the other, braving all dangers, not for pleasure, not for recruiting their health (though all that followed from their tramps), but for the sake of humanity. Then were Benares and other places of pilgrimage the holy cities, whereas to day they are an abomination.

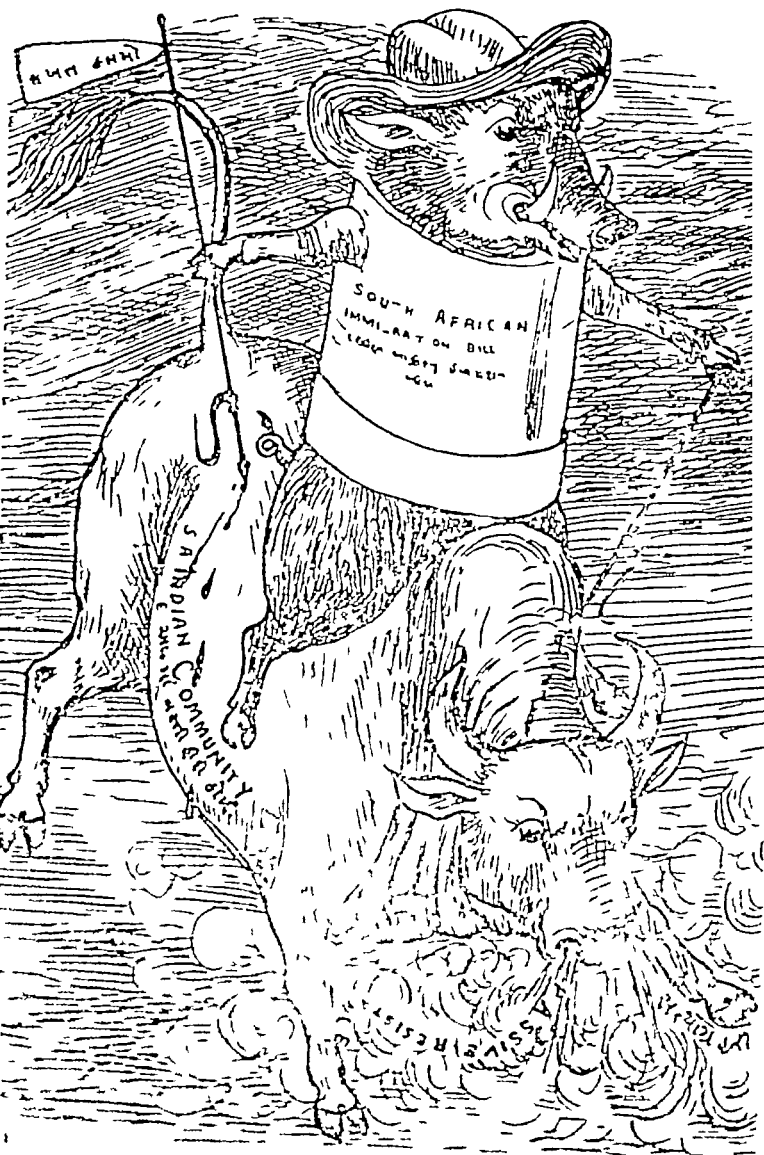
You will recollect you used to rate me for talking to my children in Gujarati. I now felt more and more convinced that I was absolutely right in refusing to talk

to them in English. Fancy a Guzarati writing to another Guzarati in English, which as you would properly say he mispronounces, and writes ungrammatically. I should certainly never commit the ludicrous blunders in writing in Guzarati that I do in writing or speaking in English. I think that when I speak in English to an Indian or a Foreigner, I in a measure un-learn the language. If I want to learn it well, and if I want to attune my ear to it, I can only do so by talking to an Englishman and by listening to an Englishman speaking.

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SAWING



RIDING THE INDIAN ON TO DEATH

## A LESSON TO INDIA

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*Mr Gandhi wrote these lines in reply to the Rev Joseph Doke, his well-known biographer, who had invited him to send a message to his countrymen in India with reference to the unrest in 1909 —*

I am not sure that I have any right to send a message to those with whom I have never come into personal contact, but it has been desired and I consent. These, then, are my thoughts

The struggle in the Transvaal is not without its interest for India. We are engaged in raising men who will give a good account of themselves in any part of the world. We have undertaken the struggle on the following assumptions —

(1) Passive Resistance is always infinitely superior to physical force

(2) There is no inherent barrier between European and Indian anywhere

(3) Whatever may have been the motives of the British rulers in India, there is a desire on the part of the Nation at large to see that justice is done. It would be a calamity to break the connection between the British people and the people of India. If we are treated as, or assert our right to be treated as, free men, whether in India or elsewhere, the connection between the British people and the people of India can not only be mutually beneficial, but is calculated to be of enormous advantage to the world religiously, and, therefore, socially and

politically In my opinion, each Nation is the complement of the other

Passive Resistance in connection with the Transvaal struggle I should hold justifiable on the strength of any of these prepositions It may be a slow remedy, not only for our ills in the Transvaal, but for all the political and other troubles from which our people suffer in India

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### PASSIVE RESISTERS IN THE TOLSTOY FARM

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*Writing to a friend from the Tolstoy Farm, where he was living with a number of passive resisters' families, Mr Gandhi says touching manual labour —*

I prepare the bread that is required on the farm The general opinion about it is that it is well made Manilal and a few others have learnt how to prepare it We put in no yeast and no baking powder We grind our own wheat We have just prepared some marmalade from the oranges grown on the farm I have also learnt how to prepare coromel coffee It can be given as a beverage even to babies The passive resisters on the farm have given up the use of tea and coffee, and taken to coromel coffee prepared on the farm It is made from wheat which is first baked in a certain way and then ground We intend to sell our surplus production of the above three articles to the public later on Just at present, we are working as labourers on the construction work that is going on, on the farm, and have not time to produce more of the articles above mentioned than we need for ourselves

## THE GENESIS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

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*In an address that Mr. Gandhi delivered before an audience of Europeans at the Germiston (Transvaal) Literary and Debating Society in 1909, he said —*

Passive resistance was a misnomer. But the expression had been accepted as it was popular, and had been for a long time used by those who carried out in practice the idea denoted by the term. The idea was more completely and better expressed by the term "soul-force". As such, it was as old as the human race. Active resistance was better expressed by the term "body force". Jesus Christ, Daniel and Socrates represented the purest form of passive resistance or soul-force. All these teachers counted their bodies as nothing in comparison to their soul. Tolstoy was the best and brightest (modern) exponent of the doctrine. He not only expounded it, but lived according to it. In India, the doctrine was understood and commonly practised, long before it came into vogue in Europe. It was easy to see that soul-force was infinitely superior to body-force. If people in order to secure redress of wrongs, resorted to soul-force, much of the present suffering would be avoided. In any case, the wielding of this force never caused suffering to others. So that, whenever it was misused, it only injured the users, and not those against whom it was used. Like virtue, it was its own reward. There was no such thing as failure in the use of this kind of force. "Resist not evil" meant that evil was not to be repelled by evil, but by good, in other words, physical force was to be opposed not by its like but by soul-force. The same idea was expressed in Indian philosophy by the expression "freedom from injury to every living thing". The exercise of his doctrine involved physical suffering on

the part of those who practised it. But it was a known fact that the sum of such suffering was greater rather than less in the world. That being so, all that was necessary, for those who recognised the immeasurable power of soul force, was consciously and deliberately to accept physical suffering as their lot, and, when this was done, the very suffering became a source of joy to the sufferer. It was quite plain that passive resistance, thus understood, was infinitely superior to physical force, and that it required, greater courage than the latter. No transition was, therefore, possible from passive resistance to active or physical resistance. The only condition of a successful use of this force was a recognition of the existence of the soul as apart from the body, and its permanent and superior nature. And this recognition must amount to a living-faith, and not a mere intellectual grasp.

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## THE RATIONALE OF SUFFERING.

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*Mr Gandhi has explained the philosophy of Passive Resistance and the need for suffering in the following terms —*

The one view is why one should go to jail and there submit himself to all personal restraints, a place where he would have to dress himself in the coarse and ugly prison garb of a felon and to live upon non-nutritious and semi-starvation diet, where he is sometimes kicked about by jail officials, and made to do every kind of work whether he liked it or not, where he has to carry out the behests of a warder who is no better than his household servant, where he is not allowed to receive the visits of his friends and relatives and is prohibited from writing to them, where he is denied almost the bare necessities of life and is sometimes obliged to sleep in the same cell that is occupied by actual thieves and robbers. The question is why one should undergo such trials and sufferings. Better is death than life under such conditions. Far better to pay up the fine than to be thus incarcerated. May God spare his creatures from such sufferings in jail. Such thoughts make one really a coward, and being in constant dread of a jail life, deter him from undertaking to perform services in the interests of his country which might otherwise prove very valuable.

The other view is that it would be the height of one's good fortune to be in jail in the interests and good name of one's country and religion. There, there is very little of that misery which he has usually to undergo in daily life. There, he has to carry out the orders of one warder only, whereas in daily life he is

obliged to carry out the behests of a great many more. In the jail, he has no anxiety to earn his daily bread and to prepare his meals. The Government sees to all that. It also looks after his health for which he has to pay nothing. He gets enough work to exercise his body. He is freed from all his vicious habits. His soul is thus free. He has plenty of time at his disposal to pray to God. His body is restrained, but not his soul. He learns to be more regular in his habits. Those who keep his body in restraint, look after it. Taking this view of jail life, he feels himself quite a free being. If any misfortune comes to him or any wicked warder happens to use any violence towards him, he learns to appreciate and exercise patience, and is pleased to have an opportunity of keeping control over himself. Those who think this way are sure to be convinced that even jail-life can be attended with blessings. It solely rests with individuals and their mental attitude to make it one of blessing or otherwise. I trust, however, that the readers of this my second experience of life in the Transvaal jail will be convinced that the real road to ultimate happiness lies in going to jail and undergoing sufferings and privations there in the interests of one's country and religion.

Placed in a similar position for refusing his poll-tax, the American citizen, Thoreau, expressed similar thoughts in 1849. Seeing the walls of the cell in which he was confined, made of solid stone two or three feet thick, and the door of wood and iron a foot thick, he said to himself thus —

"I saw that, if there was a wall of stone between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one to climb or break through before they could get to be as free as I was. I did not feel for a moment confined, and the walls seemed a great waste of stone and mortar. I felt

as if I alone of all my townsmen had paid my tax. They plainly did not know how to treat me, but behaved like persons who are underbred. In every threat and in every compliment there was a blunder, for they thought that my chief desire was to stand the other side of the stone-wall. I could not but smile to see how industriously they looked the door on my meditations, which followed them out again without let or hindrance, and they were nearly all that was dangerous. As they could not reach me, they had resolved to punish my body, just as boys if they cannot come to some person against whom they have a spite, will abuse his dog. I saw that the State was half-witted, that it was timid as a lone woman with her silver spoons, and that it did not know its friends from its foes, and I lost all my remaining respect for it, and pitied it"

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## SOUL FORCE vs PHYSICAL FORCE

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*The advantages of soul force against physical force are well pictured by Mr Gandhi in the following words —*

Passive resistance is an all-sided sword, it can be used anyhow, it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used without drawing a drop of blood, it produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen. Competition between passive resisters does not exhaust them. The sword of passive resistance does not require a scabbard and one cannot be forcibly dispossessed of it

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## A MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

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*The following message to the Congress was published in the "Indian Review" for December 1909 —*

You have cabled me for a message to the forthcoming Congress. I do not know that I am at all competent to send any message. Simple courtesy, however, demands that I should say something in reply to your cable. At the present moment I am unable to think of anything but the task immediately before me, namely, the struggle that is going on in the Transvaal. I hope our countrymen throughout India realise that it is national in its aim, in that it has been undertaken to save India's honour. I may be wrong, but I have not hesitated publicly to remark that it is the greatest struggle of modern times, because it is the purest as well in its goal as in its methods. Our countrymen in the Transvaal are fighting for the right of cultured Indians to enter the Transvaal in common with Europeans. In this the fighters have no personal interest to serve, nor is there any material gain to accrue to anybody after the above-mentioned right (which has for the first time in Colonial Legislation been taken away) is restored. The sons of Hindustan, who are in the Transvaal, are showing that they are capable of fighting for an ideal pure and simple. The methods adopted in order to secure relief are also equally pure and equally simple. Violence in any shape or form is entirely eschewed. They believe that self-suffering is the only true and effective means to procure lasting reforms. They endeavour to meet and conquer hatred by love. They oppose the brute or physical force by soul-force. They hold that loyalty to an earthly sovereign or an earthly

constitution is subordinate to loyalty to God and His constitution. In interpreting God's constitution through their conscience they admit that they may possibly be wrong. Hence, in resisting or disregarding those man-made laws which they consider to be inconsistent with the eternal laws of God, they accept with resignation the penalties provided by the former, and trust to the working of time and to the best in human nature to make good their position. If they are wrong, they alone suffer, and the established order of things continues. In the process over 2,500 Indians or nearly one-half of the resident Indian population, or one fifth of the possible Indian population of the Transvaal, have suffered imprisonment, carrying with it terrible hardships. Some of them have gone to gaol again and again. Many families have been impoverished. Several merchants have accepted privation rather than surrender their manhood. Incidentally, the Hindu-Mahomedan problem has been solved in South Africa. We realise there that the one cannot do without the other. Mahomedans, Parsees and Hindus, or taking them provincially, Bangalees, Madrasees, Punjabis, Afghanistanees, and Bombayites, have fought shoulder to shoulder.

I venture to suggest that a struggle such as this is worthy of occupying the best, if not, indeed, the exclusive attention of the Congress. If it be not impertinent I would like to distinguish between this and the other items on the programme of the Congress. The opposition to the laws or the policy with which the other items deal does not involve any material suffering. The Congress activity consists in a mental attitude without corresponding action. In the Transvaal case the law and the policy it enunciates being wrong, we disregard it, and therefore consciously and deliberately suffer material and physical injury in action.

follows, and corresponds to, our mental attitude. If the view here submitted be correct, it will be allowed that in asking for the best place in the Congress programme for the Transvaal question, I have not been unreasonable. May I also suggest that in pondering over and concentrating our attention upon passive resistance such as has been described above, we would perchance find out that, for the many ills we suffer from in India, passive resistance is an infallible panacea. It is worthy of careful study, and I am sure it will be found that it is the only weapon that is suited to the genius of our people and our land, which is the nursery of the most ancient religions and has very little to learn from modern civilization—a civilization based on violence of the blackest type largely a negation of the Divine in man, and which is rushing headlong to its own ruin

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## CONQUER HATRED BY LOVE

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*The following is an extract from the message that Mr. Gandhi sent to the National Congress at Lahore*

The sons of Hindustan, who are in the Transvaal, are showing that they are capable of fighting for an ideal pure and simple. The methods adopted in order to secure relief are also equally pure and equally simple. Violence in any shape or form is entirely eschewed. They believe that self-suffering is the only true and effective means to procure lasting reforms. They endeavour to meet and conquer hatred by love. They oppose the brute or physical force by soul-force. They hold that loyalty to an earthly sovereign or an earthly constitution is subordinate to loyalty to God and his constitution. In interpreting God's constitution, through their conscience, they admit that they may possibly be wrong. Hence, in resisting or disregarding these man-made laws, which they consider to be inconsistent with the eternal laws of God, they accept with resignation the penalties provided by the former, and trust to the working of time and to the best in human nature to make good their position. If they are wrong, they alone suffer and the established order of things continues.

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## THE GAINS OF THE PASSIVE RESISTANCE STRUGGLE

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*An English rendering from Gujarati, originally published in the "Indian Review" for Nov, Dec, 1911*

Very often we come across Indians who question the utility of passive resistance as carried on in this country (South Africa). They say that what our people have got as a result of the terrible sufferings in the jails and outside in some proposed modification in the Immigration Law, which they cannot understand, and which is hardly likely to be of any practical value to them. The maximum gain from the struggle, according to their view, is that thereby a few very highly-educated Indians who are least likely to be of any use to them will find it possible to enter the country. For the edification of those who hold the above view, we propose to give a short summary of the gains thereof.

That thereby the Indian community could preserve its national self respect according to our proverb, one who can preserve his self-respect can preserve everything else.

That thereby the Registration Act of 1907 has got to be swept off the statute book.

That thereby the whole of India became acquainted with our disabilities in this country.

That through it other nations became acquainted with our grievances and began to appreciate us better.

That by it was brought about the prohibition of Indian indentured labour to Natal by the Indian Government.

That the struggle helped to bring about some desirable modification in the Licencing Law of Natal.

That it brought about the disallowance of the Registration Law of Rhodesia which was framed on the same basis as that of the Transvaal

That it brought about the disallowance of the most obnoxious Licensing Law of Natal Any one who doubts this statement had better refer to the despatch of the Imperial Government disallowing the Act and the reasons for such disallowance

That but for the struggle the other Colonies in South Africa would have passed Immigration Restriction Laws similar to the law in the Transvaal

That but for the struggle, the Transvaal Legislature would have passed other Anti-Asiatic Laws as harsh as the Immigration Restriction Law

That the struggle brought about the repeal of the Railway Regulations which differentiated between the white and the coloured people and that they are now applicable to all equally

That it is a matter of common knowledge that the Transvaal Registration Law of 1907 was the first of a series of Anti-Asiatic Laws that were proposed to be added to the statute book The unanimous opposition of the Indians to this law, however, deterred the Transvaal Government from taking up the other legislation

That it brought into existence a committee consisting of Europeans under the presidency of Mr Hosken which could not have come into existence otherwise • This committee is likely to be useful to Indians in their future struggle

That besides those who have already joined the committee, it has created, in a great many other Europeans, feelings of sympathy and regard for Indians.

That thereby the Indian community has gained a

great deal of prestige and that those Europeans who before the struggle used to treat Indians with contempt, have been taught to show them due regard and consideration

That the Government now feels that the strength which is in us is unconquerable

That the majority of the Indians domiciled in the country showed themselves quite cowardly before the struggle. It has, however, given them more vigour and courage. Those who were afraid even to whisper before that time, are now boldly speaking out their minds as men

That whereas before the struggle, there was no woman's movement in Johannesburg, now there is a class opened under Mrs Vogle who gives her services free to the community

That jail life which seemed so dreadful to Indians before the struggle, is no longer terrifying to them

That although on account of the struggle, Mr Cachalia and others have lost almost all their earthly possessions, they feel that as a consequence thereof, they have acquired much strength of mind and character which they could not have purchased with any amount of money and which nothing but the actual struggle could have infused into them

That but for the struggle, the Indian community would have continued to remain ignorant of the fact that in the Transvaal section thereof, there were men and women who were great assets to their people, and who would do credit to any community

That the struggle, which brought about the Transvaal law of 1908, revived the rights of hundreds of Indians who had left the country during the great war

That the Indian community now stands before the

world fully acquitted of all charges of fraud which were levelled against them before the present settlement

That the withdrawal of the Bill introduced in the Union Parliament exempting Europeans from the payment of the poll-tax in Natal is one of the freshest instances showing the dread the authorities have of a fresh passive resistance struggle on the part of Indians

That the struggle made General Smuts rescind his own orders on three and the Imperial Government on two different occasions

That before the struggle, all laws used to be framed against us independently of us and what we thought of them, but that since the struggle the authorities are obliged to take our views and feelings into their consideration and they certainly show more regard to them

That as a consequence of the struggle, the prestige of the Indian community stands on a much higher level than ever before Better this than the riches of the whole world.

That the community has demonstrated to the world the invulnerability of "Truth"

That by keeping its full faith in God the community has vindicated the glory of Religion "Where there is truth and where there is religion, there alone is victory"

On bestowing more thought on the question and looking at it from its various bearings, one can find much more to say as to the fruits thereof, than what has been stated above The last on the list, however, is incomparably the best of them all Such a great fight could not have been carried on successfully without fully trusting in God He was our only prop all that time Those who put their implicit faith in Him cannot but reach their aims The struggle will not have been carried on in vain, if, as a result of it, we shall have learnt to put still more trust in Him

## THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

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*From the "Souvenir of the Passive Resistance Movement  
in South Africa, 1900-1914" —*

I shall be at least far away from Phoenix if not actually in the Motherland, when this commemoration issue is published. I would, however, leave behind me my innermost thoughts upon that which has made this special issue necessary. Without passive resistance there would have been no richly illustrated and important special issue of *Indian Opinion* which has for the last eleven years, in an unpretentious and humble manner, endeavoured to serve my countrymen and South Africa, a period causing the most critical stage that they will, perhaps, ever have to pass through. It marks the rise and growth of passive resistance which has attracted world-wide attention.

The term does not fit the activity of the Indian community during the past eight years. Its equivalent in the vernacular, rendered into English, means Truth Force. I think Tolstoy called it also Soul Force or Love-Force, and so it is. Carried out to its utmost limit, this force is independent of pecuniary or other material assistance, certainly, even in its elementary form, of physical force or violence. Indeed, violence is the negation of this great spiritual force, which can only be cultivated or wielded by those who will entirely eschew violence. It is a force that may be used by individuals as well as by communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence.



### PIG-STICKING

The announcement of the Government of India to put into force the Act prohibiting the supply of indentured labour to Natal, caused perturbation among the employers of labour there who entered an energetic protest against the decision of the Government



MR AND MRS GANDHI AND MR G A NATESAN

and invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women, and children. It is totally untrue to say that it is a force to be used only by the weak so long as they are not capable of meeting violence by violence. This superstition arises from the incompleteness of the English expression. It is impossible for those who consider themselves to be weak to apply this force. Only those who realise that there is something in man which is superior to the brute nature in him, and that the latter always yields to it, can effectively be Passive Resisters. This force is to violence and, therefore, to all tyranny, all injustice what light is to darkness. In politics, its use is based upon the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed. We did not want to be governed by the Asiatic Act of 1907 of the Transvaal, and it had to go before this mighty force. Two courses were open to us—to use violence when we were called upon to submit to the Act, or to suffer the penalties prescribed under the Act, and thus to draw out and exhibit the force of the soul within us for a period long enough to appeal to the sympathetic chord in the governors or the law makers. We have taken long to achieve what we set about striving for. That was because our Passive Resistance was not of the most complete type. All Passive Resisters do not understand the full value of the force, nor have we men who always from conviction refrain from violence. The use of this force requires the adoption of poverty, in the sense that we must be indifferent whether we have the wherewithal to feed or clothe ourselves. During the past struggle, all Passive Resisters, if any at all, were not prepared to go that length. Some again were only Passive Resisters so called. They came without any conviction, often

with mixed motives, less often with impure motives. Some even, whilst engaged in the struggle, would gladly have resorted to violence but for most vigilant supervision. Thus it was that the struggle became prolonged, for the exercise of the purest soul-force, in its perfect form, brings about instantaneous relief. For this exercise, prolonged training of the individual soul is an absolute necessity, so that a perfect Passive Resister has to be almost, if not entirely, a perfect man. We cannot all suddenly become such men, but, if my proposition is correct—as I know it to be correct—the greater the spirit of Passive Resistance in us, the better men we will become. Its use, therefore, is, I think, indisputable, and it is a force which, if it became universal, would revolutionise social ideals and do away with despotisms and the ever-growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and are being almost crushed to death, and which fairly promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East. If the past struggle has produced even a few Indians who would dedicate themselves to the task of becoming Passive Resisters as nearly perfect as possible, they would not only have served themselves in the truest sense of the term, they would also have served humanity at large. Thus viewed, Passive Resistance is the noblest and the best education. It should come, not after the ordinary education in letters of children, but it should precede it. It will not be denied that a child, before it begins to write its alphabet and to gain worldly knowledge, should know what the soul is, what truth is, what love is, what powers are latent in the soul. It should be an essential of real education that a child should learn that, in the struggle of life, it can easily conquer hate by love, untruth by truth,

violence by self-suffering. It was because I felt the forces of this truth, that, during the latter part of the struggle, I endeavoured, as much as I could, to train the children at Tolstoy Farm and then at Phoenix along these lines, and one of the reasons for my departure to India is still further to realise, as I already do in part, my own imperfection as a Passive Resister, and then to try to perfect myself, for I believe that it is in India that the nearest approach to perfection is most possible.

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## ON SOUL-FORCE AND INDIAN POLITICS

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*Translation of the original in Gujarati published during the agitation against the internments in June, 1917*

The English expression 'Passive Resistance' hardly denotes the force about which I propose to write. But Satyagraha, i.e., Truth-force, correctly conveys the meaning. Truth-force is soul-force, and is the opposite of the force of arms. The former is a purely religious instrument, its conscious use is, therefore, possible only in men religiously inclined. Prahlad, Mirabai and others were Passive Resisters (in the sense in which the expression is here used). At the time of the Moroccan War, the French guns were playing upon the Arabs of Morocco. The latter believed that they were fighting for their religion. They defied death and with 'Allah' on their lips rushed into the cannon's mouth. There was no room left here for them to deal death. The French gunners declined to work their guns against these Arabs. They threw up their hats in the air, rushed forward and with shouts of cheer embraced these brave Arabs. This is an illustration of "Passive Resistance" and its victory. The Arabs were not consciously "Passive Resisters." They prepared to face death in a fit of frenzy. The spirit of love was absent in them. A "Passive Resister" has no spirit of enmity in him. It is not Anger that bids him court Death. But it is by reason of his ability to suffer that he refuses to surrender to the so-called enemy or the tyrant. Thus a "Passive Resister" has need to have courage, forgiveness and love. Imam Husain and his little band refused to yield to what to them appeared to be an unjust order. They knew at the time that Death alone

would be their lot. If they yielded to it, they felt that their manhood and their religion would be in jeopardy. They, therefore, welcomed the embrace of Death. Imam Husain preferred the slaughter in his arms of his son and nephew, for him and them to suffer from thirst, rather than submit to what to him appeared to be an unjust order. It is my belief that the rise of Islam has been due not to the sword, but to the self-immolation alone of the Fokeers of Islam. There is little to boast of in the ability to wield the sword. When the striker finds out his mistake, he understands the sinfulness of his act which now becomes murder and has to repent of his folly. Whereas he who courts death even though he might have done so in error, for him it is still a victory. 'Passive Resistance' is the Religion of Ahimsa. It is, therefore, everywhere and always a duty and is desirable. Violence is Himsa and has been discarded in all religions. Even the devotees of methods of violence impose elaborate restrictions upon their use. 'Passive Resistance' admits of no such limits. It is limited only by the insufficiency of the Passive Resister's strength to suffer.

No one else but a "Passive Resister" can answer the question whether his "Passive Resistance" is lawful or otherwise. The public can only judge after the "Passive Resister" has begun his work. He cannot be deterred by public displeasure. His operations are not founded upon Arithmetical Formulae. He may be considered a clever politician or a thoughtful man who commences his so-called Passive Resistance only after having weighed chances of success and failure. But he is by no means a "Passive Resister." The former acts because he must.

Both Soul-force and force of Arms are from times immemorial. Both have received their due meed of praise in the accepted religious literature. They respectively

represent Forces of Good and Evil. The Indian belief is that there was in this land a time when the forces of Good were predominant. That state still remains our ideal. Europe furnishes a forcible illustration of predominance of the Forces of Evil.

therefore shuns boycott, but takes the Swadeshi vow as a part of his religion and never wavers in practising it. Fearing God alone, he is afraid of no other power. Fear of kings can never make him forsake the path of duty.

In view of the foregoing, it is hardly necessary for me to say that it is our duty to make use of "Passive Resistance" in order to procure the release of Mrs Besant and her comrades. It is beside the point whether one approves of all or any of her acts. I certainly disapprove of some of her acts. But in my humble opinion, the Government have grievously erred in internment, and it is an act of injustice. I know that the Government think otherwise. It is possible that the public are in error in desiring their release. The Government have acted upon their belief. How are the public to make an effective demonstration of their wounded feelings? Petitions and the like are a remedy for endurable grievances. For the unendurable, "Passive Resistance" alone is the remedy. Only those who consider the wrong to be unendurable will, when the feeling possesses them, dedicate themselves body and soul to the release of Mrs Besant. Such self-surrender is the most effective demonstration of a people's desire. And before it the mightiest power must bend. Such is my unalterable faith in the efficacy of soul-force. People may restrain the supreme demonstration in view of Mr Montagu's impending visit. Such self-imposed restraint will be a token of their sense of justice and their faith in the Government. But, if the interned are not released before his arrival, it will be our duty to take up the matchless force I have endeavoured to describe. Its use will be a true measure for the Government or the pain felt by us, our intention cannot be to irritate or harass them, in my opinion, adoption of Satyagraha will be a service to the Government.

# GANDHI'S JAIL EXPERIENCES.

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## I

*These prison experiences were originally written by Mr Gandhi in Guzerati and we are indebted to the "Modern Review" for the following English version*

### INSPECTION

When the different inspectors come to inspect, all the prisoners have to post themselves in a row, and take off their caps to salute them. As all of us had English caps, there was no difficulty in observing this rule. It was both legal and proper that we should take off our caps. The words of direction used were "fall in". These words had, so to speak, become our food, as we had to "fall in" four or five times a day. One of these officers, an assistant to the Chief Warder, was a little stiff-necked and so the Indians had nicknamed him, "General Smuts". Generally he was the first to come in the mornings, and again in the evenings. At half past nine the Doctor came. He was very good and kind, and unfailing in his inquiries. Each prisoner had, according to jail rules, to show all parts of his body, on the first day to the Doctor, stripping himself bare of all clothes, but he was kind enough not to enforce the same in our case. When many more Indians had come, he simply told us to report to him if any one had got itches, etc., so that he might examine him *in camera*. At half past ten or eleven, the Governor and Chief Warder came. The former was a firm, just and quiet-natured officer. His invariable inquiries were whether we were all right, whether we wanted anything, whether we had any complaints to make. Whenever we had any such, he heard them attentively, and gave us relief, if he could.

Some of these complaints and grievances I shall refer to later on. His deputy came also at times. He was kind-hearted too. But the best of them all was our Chief Warder. Himself deeply religious, he was not only kind and courteous towards us, but every prisoner sang his praises in no measured terms. He was attentive in preserving to the prisoners all their rights, he overlooked their trivial faults, and knowing in our case that we were all innocent he was particularly kind to us, and to show his kindness he often came and talked to us.

#### INCREASE IN OUR NUMBERS

I have said before that there were only five of us passive resisters, at first. On 14th January, Tuesday, came in Mr Thambi Naidu, the Chief Picket and Mr Koin, the President of the Chinese Association. We all were pleased to receive them. On the 18th, fourteen others joined us, including Samundai Khan. He was in for two months. The rest were Madrasis, Kunamis and Gujarati Hindus. They were arrested for hawking without licences, and sentenced to pay a fine of £2, and in default to 14 days' imprisonment. They had bravely elected to go to jail. On 21st, 76 others came. In this batch only Nawab Khan had two months, the rest were with a fine of £2, or in default 14 days' imprisonment. Most of them were Gujarati Hindus, some Kunamis and some Madrasis. On the 22nd, 35, on the 23rd, 3, on the 24th, 1, on the 25th, 2, on the 28th, 6, and in the evening 4 more, and on the 29th, 4 Kunamis added to our numbers. So that by the 29th, there were 155 passive resisters incarcerated. On the 30th, I was removed to Pretoria, but I knew that on that day 5 or 6 others had come in.

#### FOOD

The question of food is of great moment to many of

us, in all circumstances, but to those in prison, it is of the greatest importance. They are greatly in need of good food. The rule is that a prisoner has to rest content with jail food, he cannot procure any from outside. The same is the case with a soldier who has to submit to his regulation rations, but the difference between the two is that his friends can send other food to the soldier and he can take it, while a prisoner is prohibited from doing so. So that this prohibition about food is one of the signs of being in prison. Even in general conversation, you will find the jail-officers, saying that there could be no exercise of taste about prison diet, and no such article could be allowed therein. In a talk with the prison medical officer, I told him that it was necessary for us to have some tea, or ghee or some such thing along with bread, and he said, you want to eat with taste, and no palatable thing could be allowed in a prison.

According to the regulations, in the first week, an Indian gets, in the morning 12 oz. of "mealie pap" without sugar or ghee, at noon, 4 oz. of rice and one oz. of ghee, in the evening, from 5 days, 12 oz. of mealie pap, for 3 days 12 oz. of boiled beans and salt. This scale has been modelled on the dietary of the Kaffirs, the only difference being that in the evening, the Kaffirs are given crushed maize corn and lard or fat, while the Indians get rice. In the second week, and thenceforward, for two days, boiled potatoes and for two days, cabbages, or pumpkin or some such vegetable is given along with maize flour. Those who take meat are given meat with vegetables on Sundays.

The first batch of prisoners had resolved to solicit for no favours at the hands of Government, and to take whatever food was served out, if not religiously objectionable.

Really speaking the above was not a proper kind of diet for Indians, though medically, of course, it contained sufficient nutrition. Maize is the daily food of the Kaffirs, so this diet suits them, nay, they thrive on it, in jail. But Indians rarely use maize flour, rice only suits them. We were not used to eat beans alone, nor could we like vegetables as cooked by or for Kaffirs. They never clean the vegetables nor season them with any spices. Again the vegetables cooked for the Kaffirs mostly consist of the peelings left after the same have been prepared for the European convicts. For spices, nothing else besides salt is given. Sugar is never dreamt of. Thus the food question was a very difficult one for us all. Still, as we had determined that the passive resisters were neither to solicit nor ask for favours from the jail authorities, we tried to rest content with this kind of food.

In reply to his inquiries we had told the Governor, that the food did not suit us, but we were determined not to ask for any favours from Government. If Government of its own accord wanted to make a change, it would be welcome, else we would go on taking the regulation diet.

But this determination could not last long. When others joined us, we thought it would be improper to make them share this trouble with us also. Was it not sufficient that they had shared the prison with us? So we began to talk to the Governor on their behalf. We told him, we were prepared to take any kind of food, but the later batches could not do so. He thought over the matter, and said that he would allow them to cook separately, if they put it on the ground of religion but the articles of food would be the same, it did not rest with him to make any changes in them.

In the meantime, fourteen others had joined us, and

some of them elected to starve rather than take mealie pap. So I read the jail rules and found out that applications in such matters should be made to the Director of Prisons. I asked, therefore, the Governor to be permitted to apply to him, and sent the following petition

We, the undersigned prisoners beg to state that we are all Asiatics, 18 Indians and 3 Chinese

The 18 Indians get for their breakfast mealie pap, and the others, rice and ghee, they get beans thrice and "pap" four times. We were given potatoes on Saturdays and greens on Sundays. On religious grounds, we cannot eat meat some are entirely prohibited from taking it, and others cannot do so because of its not being religiously slaughtered

The Chinese get maize-corn instead of rice. All the prisoners are mostly used to European food, and they also eat bread and other flour preparations. None of us is used to mealie pap, and some of us suffer from indigestion

Seven of us have eaten no breakfast at all only at times, when the Chinese prisoners who got bread, out of mercy, gave them a piece or two out of their rations, have we eaten the same. When this was mentioned to the Governor, he said we were guilty of a jail offence in thus accepting bread

In our opinion this kind of food is entirely unsuitable to us. So we have to apply that we should be given food according to the rules for European prisoners and mealie pap be left out entirely, or in the alternative such food should be given as would support us, and be in consonance with our habits and customs

This is an urgent matter and a reply be sent by wire

commended an allowance of flour, gh̄ee, rice and pulse, but before it could take effect, we had been released, and so nothing more happened

In the beginning when there was only eight of us we did not cook ourselves, so we used to get uncooked rice and ill-cooked vegetables whenever the same were given, so we obtained permission to cook for ourselves. On the first day, Mr Kadva cooked. After that Mr Thambi Naidu and Mr Jivan both took up the function, and in our last days they had to cook for about 150 men. They had to cook once only, excepting on vegetable days which were two in a week—when they had to do so twice. Mr Naidu took great trouble over this. I used to distribute

From the style of the petition the reader must have noted the fact that it was presented on behalf of all Indian prisoners and not us (eight) alone. We talked with the Governor also on the same lines and he had promised to look into it for all the Asiatic prisoners. We still hope that the jail diet of the Indians would be improved.

Again the three Chinese used to get other articles instead of rice, and hence annoyance was felt, as there was an appearance of them being considered separate from and inferior to us. For this reason, I applied, on their behalf, to the Governor and to Mr Playford, and it was ordered that they should be placed on the same level as Indians.

It is instructive to compare this dietary with that of the Europeans. They get for their morning breakfast "pap" and 8 oz of bread, for the midday meal, bread and soup or bread and meat, or bread and meat and potatoes or vegetables and in the evenings bread and "pap". Thus they got bread thrice in the day, and so they do not care whether they have the "pap" or not. Again they get

meat or soup, in addition. Besides this they are often given tea or cocoa. This will show that both the Europeans and the native Kaffirs get food suitable to them, and it is the poor Indians alone who suffer. They had no special dietary of their own. If they were treated like Europeans in food, they the Europeans would have felt ashamed, and no one had the concern to find out what was the food of the Indian. They had thus to be ranked with the Kaffirs and silently starve. For this state of circumstances I find fault with our own people the Passive Resisters. Some Indians got the requisite food by stealth, others put up with whatever they got, and were either ashamed to make public the story of their distress or had no thought for others. Hence the outside public remained in the dark. If we were to follow truth and agitate where we got injustice, there would be no room to undergo such inconveniences. If we were to leave self and apply ourselves to the good of others, grievances would get remedied soon. But just as it is necessary to take steps for the redress of such complaints, so it is necessary to think of certain other things also. It is but meet for prisoners to undergo certain inconveniences. If there be no trouble, what is the good of being called a prisoner? Those who are the masters of their minds, take pleasure even in suffering, and live happily in jails. They do not lose sight of the existence of the suffering, and they should not do so, considering that there are others also suffering with them.

There is another evil habit of ours, and that is our tenacity in sticking to our manners and customs. We must do in Rome as the Romans do. We are living in South Africa and we must accustom ourselves to what is considered good food here. "Mcalie pap" is a food, as good, simple and cheap as our wheat. We cannot say it

is without taste, sometimes, it beats wheat even. It is my belief that out of respect for the country of our adoption, we must take food which grows in that country, if it be not unwholesome. Many "Whites" like this "pap" and eat it in the morning. It becomes palatable if milk or sugar or even ghee be taken with it. For these reasons and for the fact that we might have to go to jail again, in the future, it is advisable for every Indian to accustom himself to this preparation of maize. With this habit even when the time comes to take it merely with salt, we would not find it hard to do so. It is incumbent on us to leave off some of our habits for the good of our country. All those nations that have advanced have given up these things where there was nothing substantial to lose. The Salvation Army people attract the natives of the soil, by adopting their customs, dress, etc., if not particularly objectionable.

#### SICKNESS

It would have been a miracle had no one out of 150 prisoners fallen ill. The first to be taken ill was Mr Samundar Khan. He had been brought into jail ailing and was taken to Hospital the next day. Mr Kadva was a victim to rheumatism, and for some days he did not mind being treated by the Doctor in the prison cell itself, but eventually he had to go to the Hospital too. Two others suffered from fainting fits and were taken there. The reason was that it was very hot then, and the convicts had to remain out in the sun the whole day, and so they fell down in fits. We nursed them as best we could. Later on Mr Nawab Khan also succumbed, and on the day of our release he had to be led out by hand. He had improved a little after the Doctor had ordered

milk, etc., to be given<sup>c</sup> to him. On the whole, still, it may be safely said, that the Passive Resisters fared well.

#### PAUCITY OF SPACE

I have stated already that our cell had space enough to accommodate only fifty-one prisoners, and the same holds good with regard to the area. Later on when instead of 51 there were 151 souls to be accommodated, great difficulty was felt. The Governor had to pitch tents outside, and many had to go there. During our last days, about a hundred had to be taken out to sleep, and back again the morning. The area space was too small for this number, and we could pass our time there with great difficulty. Added to this was our evil inborn habit of spitting everywhere, which rendered the place dirty, and there was the danger of disease breaking out. Fortunately our companions were amenable to advice, and assisted us in keeping the compound clean. Scrupulous care was exercised in inspecting the area and privies, and this saved the inmates from disease. Every one will admit that the Government was at fault in incarcerating such a large number in so narrow a space. If the room was insufficient, it was incumbent on the Government not to send so many there, and if the struggle had been prolonged, it would not have been possible for the Government to commit any more to this prison.

#### READING

I have already mentioned that the Governor had allowed us the use of a table, with pen, ink, etc. We had the free run of the prison library also. I had taken from there, the works of Carlyle and the Bible. From the Chinese Interpreter, who used to come there, I had borrowed the *Kuran e Sharif* translated into English, Speeches of Huxley, Carlyle's *Lives of Burns*, Johnson, and Scott, and Bacon's *Essays*. Of my own I had taken the

Bhagavad Gita, with Manilal Nathubhai's Annotations, several Tamil works, an Urdu book from the Moulvi Sahib, the writings of Tolstoy, Ruskin and Socrates. Many of these I read or re-read in the jail. I used to study Tamil regularly. In the morning I used to read the Gita and at noon, mostly the Koran. In the evening I taught the Bible to Mr. Foretoon, who was a Chinese Christian. He wanted to learn English, and I taught it to him through the Bible.

If I had been permitted to spend out my full period, I would have been able to complete my translations of a book each of Carlyle and Ruskin. I believe that as I was fully occupied in the study of the above works, I would not have become tired even if I had got more than two months, not only that but I would have added usefully to my knowledge and studies. I would have passed a happy life, believing as I do that whoever has a taste for reading good books is able to bear loneliness in any place with great ease.

#### RELIGIOUS STUDY.

In the West, we now see, that as a matter of fact, the State looks after the religion of all its prisoners, and hence, we find a Church in the Johannesburg prison for its inmates, but it is provided to meet only the needs of the Whites, who alone are allowed access thereto. I asked for special permission for Mr. Foretoon and myself, but the Governor told me it was only for *White* Christian prisoners. Every Sunday, they attend it, and preachers of different denominations give them religious lessons there.

Several missionaries come in to convert the Kaffirs also, with special permission. There is no Church for them, they sit in the open. Jews also have got their own preachers to look after them. It is only the Hindus and

Mahomedans who are spiritually left unprovided for. There are not many Indian prisoners, it is true, but the absence of any such provision for them is hardly creditable to them. The leaders of both communities should, therefore, lay their heads together, and arrange for the religious instruction of the members of their community in jail even if there be only one convict. The preachers, whether Hindus or Moultis, should be pure-hearted, and they should be careful not to become thorns in the sides of the convicts.

#### THE END

All that was worth knowing has been stated above. Indians being placed on a level with the Kaffirs is a fact which calls for further consideration. While the White convicts get a bedstead to sleep on, a tooth-brush to clean their teeth, a towel to wipe their faces and hands, and also a handkerchief, Indians get nothing. Why this distinction?

We should never think that this is not a matter for our interference. It is these little things which either enhance our respect or degrade us. An Arabic book says that he who has no self-respect has no religion. Nations have become great by gradually enhancing their self-respect. Self-respect does not mean vanity or rashness, but a state of mind which is prepared not to let go its privileges simply out of fear or idleness. One who has really his trust in God, attains to self-respect, and I firmly believe that one who has no trust in Him never knows what is right, nor does he know how to do right.

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## II

Every prisoner in the jail on getting up in the morning is required to fold his own bedding, and to place it in its proper place. He must finish his toilet by 6 o'clock and be ready to start out at the stroke of the hour. The work begins at 7 o'clock. It is of various kinds. The ground to be dug was very hard. It was to be worked upon with spades, and hence the work proved too hard. Again, it was a very hot day. The place we were taken to was about a mile and a half from the jail. Each one of us started very well indeed. But as none of us was used to this kind of work, it was not long before we were quite done up. As the day advanced, the work seemed harder still. The warder was very strict. He used to cry out every now and then, "go on, go on." This made the Indians quite nervous. I saw some of them weeping. One of them had a swollen foot. All this caused me a great deal of heart-burning, and yet on every occasion, I reminded them of the duty, and asked them to perform it as well as possible, with a good heart, and without minding the words of the warder. I felt myself done up also. My hands were covered with blisters and water was oozing out of them. I could hardly bend the spade and felt the weight of it as if it was quite a maund. I prayed to God to preserve my honour, to maintain my limbs intact, and to bestow on me sufficient strength to be able to perform my allotted task. I trusted to Him and went on with my work. The warder would sometimes remonstrate with me at an occasional break required to get over the fatigue. I told him that it was unnecessary for him to remind me of my duty, and that I was prepared to go through as much of it as was possible for me to do. Just then I saw Mr. Jhinabhai faint.

While I was pouring water on Jhinabhai's head, the following occurred to me. Most of the Indians trusted my word, and submitted themselves to imprisonment. If the advice that I happened to offer them were erroneous how much sin I would be committing in the eyes of God in tendering it to them. They underwent all sorts of hardships on account of that advice. With this thought in my mind, I heaved a deep sigh. With God as my witness, I reflected on the subject once more, and was immediately reassured that it was all right. I felt that the advice that I tendered to them was the only advice that I could under the circumstances. In anticipation of future happiness, it was absolutely necessary that we should undergo the hardest trials and sufferings in the first instance, and that there was no reason to be grieved at the latter. This was simply a fit of fainting, but even if it was a case of death how could I offer any other advice than what I had already done? It at once occurred to me that it was more honourable for anybody to die suffering in that manner, than to continue living a life of perpetual enslavement.

At one time one of the warders came to me, and asked me to provide him with two of his men to clean the water closets. I thought that I could do nothing better than clean them myself, and so I offered him my services. I have no particular dislike to that kind of work. On the contrary, I am of opinion that we ought to get ourselves accustomed to it.

be kept incarcerated with such men, I got very nervous and terror-stricken. And yet I tried my best to reconcile myself to the idea that it was my duty to undergo the sufferings that may befall me. I read from the "Bhagawad-Gita," that I had with me, certain verses suited to the occasion, and on pondering over them, was soon reconciled to the situation. The chief reason why I got nervous was that in the same room, there were a number of wild, murderous-looking, vicious Kaffir and Chinese prisoners. I did not know their language. One of the Kaffir began to ply me with all sorts of questions. As far as I could gather, he seemed to be mocking me indecently. I did not understand what his questions were, and I kept quiet. He then asked me in his broken English, "Why have they brought you here?" I gave him a very short reply and was again silent. He was followed by one of the Chinamen. He was worse than the other. He approached my bed, and looked at me intently. I kept on my silence. He then proceeded towards the above-mentioned Kaffir's bed. There they began to mock each other indecently, and expose their private parts. Both these prisoners were probably there for murder or highway robbery. How could I enjoy sleep after seeing these dreadful things?

(At one time) as soon as I got seated at the water closet there to answer the call of nature, a very wild and muscular looking Kaffir turned up. He asked me to get off from the seat, and began to abuse me. I told him I would not be long when he took hold of me, and threw me outside. Fortunately, I was able to catch hold of one of the doors, and to save myself from a nasty fall. This did not make me very nervous. I simply walked away with a smiling countenance. But one or two Indian prisoners who happened to see the situation in which I was placed, could not restrain themselves from shedding tears.

### III.

When on the 25th February I got three months' hard labour, and once again embraced my brother Indians and my son in the Volksrust Jail, I little thought that I should have had to say much in connection with my third "pilgrimage" to the jail, but with many other human assumptions, this too proved to be false. My experience this time was unique, and what I learnt therefrom I could not have learnt after years of study. I consider these three months invaluable. I saw many vivid pictures of passive resistance, and I have become, therefore, a more confirmed resister than what I was three months ago. For all this, I have to thank the Government of this place (the Transvaal).

Several officers had betted this time that I should not get less than six months. My friends—old and renowned Indians—my own son—had got six months and so I too was wishing that they might win their bets. Still I had my own misgivings, and they proved true. I got only three months, that being the maximum under the law.

After going there, I was glad to meet Messrs Dawood Muhammad, Rustamji, Sorabji, Pillay, Hajura Sing, Lal Bahadur Sing and other "fighters". Excepting for about ten all others were accommodated in tents, pitched in the jail compound for sleeping, and the scene resembled a camp more than a prison. Every one liked to sleep in the tents.

We were comfortable about our meals. We used to cook ourselves as before, and so before, and so could cook as we liked. We were about 77 passive resisters in all.

Those who were taken out for work had rather a hard time of it. The road near the Magistrate's Court had to be built, so they had to dig up stones, etc., and

carry them. After that was finished they were asked to dig up grass from the School Compound. But mostly they did their work cheerfully. For three days I was also thus sent out with the "shans" (gangs) to work, but in the meanwhile a wire was received that I was not to be taken outside to work. I was disheartened at this, as I liked to move out, because it improved my health and exercised my body. Generally I take two meals a day, but in the Volksrust Jail, on account of this exercise I felt hungry thrice. After this turn, I was given the work of a sweeper, but this was useless, and after a time even that was taken away.

#### WHY I WAS MADE TO LEAVE VOLKSRUST

On the 2nd of March I heard that I was ordered to be sent to Pretoria. I was asked to be ready at once, and my warder and I had to go to the station in pelted rain, walking on hard roads, with my luggage on my head. We left by the evening train in a third class carriage.

My removal gave rise to various surmises. Some thought that peace was near, others, that after separating me from my companions, Government intended to oppress me more, and some others, that in order to stifle discussion in the House of Commons it might be intended to give me greater liberty and convenience.

I did not like to leave Volksrust, as we passed our days and nights pleasantly there talking to one another. Messrs. Hajura Sing and Joshi always put us questions, questions which were neither useless nor trivial, as they related to science and philosophy. How would one like to leave such company and such a camp?

But if every thing happened as we wished, we should not be called human beings. So I left the place quietly. Saluting Mr. Kaji on the road, the warder and I got con-

fined in a compartment. It was very cold, and raining too for the whole night. I had my overcoat with me which I was permitted to use. I was given bread and cheese for my meals on the way, but as I had eaten before I left, I gave them to my warder.

#### PRETORIA JAIL THE BEGINNING

We reached Pretoria on the 31d, and found everything new. The jail was newly built, and the men were new. I was asked to eat but I had no inclination to do so. Mealie meal porridge was placed before me. I tasted a spoonful only and then left it untouched. My warder was surprised at it, but I told him I was not hungry, and he smiled. Then I was handed over to another warder. He said, "Gandhi, take off your cap." I did so. Then he asked, "Are you the son of Gandhi?" I said, "No, my son is undergoing six months' imprisonment at Volksrust." He then confined me in a cell. I began to walk forwards and backwards in it. He saw it from the watch-hole in the door, and exclaimed, "Gandhi, don't walk about like that. It spoils my floor." I stopped, and stood in a corner, quietly. I had nothing to read even, as I had not yet got my books. I was confined at about eight, and at ten I was taken to the Doctor. He only asked me if I had any contagious disease, and then allowed me to go. I was then interned in a small room at eleven where I passed my whole time. It seemed to be a cell made for one prisoner only. Its dimensions were about 10 x 7 feet. The floor was of black pitch, which the warder tried to keep shining. There was only one small glass window, barred with iron bars, for light and air. There was electric light kept to examine the inmates at night. It was not meant for the use of the prisoners, as it was not strong enough to enable one to read. When I went and stood very near it, I could

read only a large-type book It is put out at eight, but is again put on five or six times during the night, to enable the warders to look over the prisoners, through the watch-holes

After eleven the Deputy-Governor came and I made these requests to him ! for my books, for permission to write a letter to my wife who was ill, and for a small bench to sit on For the first, he said, he would consider, for the second, I might write, and for the third, no Afterwards I wrote out my letter in Gujarati and gave it to be posted He endorsed on it, that I should write it in English I said, my wife did not know English, and my letters were a great source of a comfort to her, and that I had nothing special to write in them Still I did not get the permission, and I declined to write in English My books were given to me in the evening

My midday meal I had to take standing in my cell with closed doors At three, I asked leave for a bath The warder said, "All right, but you had better go there after undressing yourself" (The place was 125 feet distant from my cell) I said, if there was no special object in my doing so, I would put my clothes on the curtain there and take my bath He allowed it, but said, "Do not delay" Even before I had cleaned my body, he shouted out, "Gandhi, have you done?" I said, "I would do so in a minute" I could rarely see the face of an Indian In the evening I got a blanket and a half and a coir mat to sleep on but neither pillow nor plank Even when answering a call of nature, I was being watched by a warder If he did not happen to know me, he would cry out, "Sam, come out" But Sam had got the bad habit of taking his full times in such a condition, so how could he get up at once ? If he were to do so, he would not be easy Some-

## JAIL EXPERIENCES

times the warders and sometimes the Kaffirs would peep in, and at times would sing out, "get up, get up" The labour given to me next day was to polish the floor and the doors. The latter were of varnished iron, and what polish could be brought on them by rubbing? I spent three hours on each door, rubbing, but found them unchanged, the same as before

## FOOD

The food was in keeping with the above conditions

I knew that no ghee was given with rice in the evening, and I had thought of remedying the defect I spoke to the Chief Warder, but he said, ghee was to be given only on Wednesdays and Sunday noons in place of meat, and if its further supply were needed, I should see the Doctor. Next day I applied to see him and I was taken to him.

I requested him to order out for all Indians ghee in place of fat. The Chief Warder was present and he added that Gandhi's request was not proper. Till then many Indians had used both fat and meat, and that those who objected to fat, were given dry rice, which they ate without any objection, that the passive resisters had also done so, and when they were released, they left with added weight. The Doctor asked me what I had to say to that. I replied that I could not quite swallow the story, but speaking for myself, I should spoil my health, if I were compelled to take rice without ghee. Then he said, "for you specially, I would order bread for myself alone, and I think you, but I had not applied for myself alone, till ghee would not be able to take bread for myself alone, till ghee was ordered to be given to all others." The Doctor said, "Then you should not find fault with me, now."

I again petitioned and I came to learn that the food regulations would ultimately be made as in Natal. I criticised that also and gave the reasons why I could not for myself alone accept ghee. At last, when in all about a month and a half had elapsed, I got a reply stating that wherever there were many Indian prisoners, ghee would invariably be given. Thus it might be said that after a month and a half I broke my fast, and for the last month I was able to take rice, ghee and bread. But I took no breakfast and at noon, when pap was doled out, I hardly took ten spoonfuls, as every day it was differently prepared. But still I got good nourishment from the bread and rice, and so my health improved. I say so, because when I used to eat once only, it had broken down, I had lost all strength, and for ten days I was suffering from a severe ache in half of my forehead. My chest too had shewn symptoms of being affected.

I had told many passive resisters that if they left the jail with spoiled health, they would be considered wanting in the right spirit. We must turn our prisons into palaces so that when I found my own health getting ruined I felt apprehensive lest I should have to go out for that reason. It has to be remembered that I had not availed myself of the order for ghee made in my favour, so that there was a chance of my health getting affected, but this does not apply in the case of others, as it is open to each individual prisoner, when he is in jail, to have some special order made in his favour, and thus preserve his health.

#### OTHER CHANGES

I have said that my Warder was harsh in his dealings with me. But this did not last long. When he saw that I was fighting with the Government about food, &c, but

obeying his orders unreservedly, he changed his conduct, and allowed me to do as I liked. This removed my difficulties about bath, latrine, &c. He became so considerate that he scarcely allowed it to be seen that he *ordered* me to do anything. The man who succeeded him was like a Pasha and he was always anxious to work after my conveniences. He said, "I love those who fight for their community, I myself am such a fighter, and I do not consider you to be a convict." He thus used to comfort me.

Again, the bench which was refused in the beginning was sent to me, by the Chief Warder himself, after some days. In the meanwhile I had received two religious books for reading from General Smuts. From this I concluded that the hardships I had to undergo were due, not to his express orders, but to the carelessness and indifference of himself and others, and also because the Indians were considered to be like Kaffirs. The only object of isolating me appeared to be to prevent my talking with others. After some trouble I got permission for the use of a note book and pencil.

#### THE VISIT OF THE DIRECTOR

Before I was taken to Pretoria, Mr Lichenstein had seen me with special permission. He had come to see me on office business, but he asked me how I was, &c. I was not willing to answer him on the point, but he pressed me. So I said, "I will not tell you all, but I will say this much, that they treat me cruelly. General Smuts by this means wants me to give in, but that would never be, as I was prepared to undergo whatever befell me, that my mind was at peace, but that you should publish this. After coming out, I myself would do so." He communicated it to Mr Polak, who not being able to keep it to himself in his turn told others, and Mr David Polak thereupon wrote to



principles of resistance. I calmly acquiesced in all the troubles, bodily given to me by the warder, with the result that, not only was I able to remain calm and quiet, but that he himself had to remove them in the end. If I had opposed him, my strength of mind would have become weakened, and I could not have done these more important things that I had to do, and in the bargain made him my enemy.

My food difficulty also was solved at last because I resisted, and underwent suffering in the beginning.

The greatest good I derived from these sufferings was that by undergoing bodily hardships, I could see my mental strength clearly increasing, and it is even now maintained. The experience of the last three months has left me more than ever prepared to undergo all such hardships with ease. I feel that God helps such conscientious objectors, and in putting them to the test, He only burdens them with such sufferings as they can bear.

WHAT I READ

tioning The two former related to religion I had borrowed the Bible from the jail Tolstoy's books are so simple and easy that any man can study and profit by them Again, he is a man who practises what he preaches and hence his writings inspire great confidence.

Carlyle's French Revolution is written in a very effective style It made me think that from the White Nations we could hardly learn the remedy to remove the present miseries of India, because I am of opinion that the French people have secured no special benefits by their Revolution. This was what Mazzini thought too There is a great conflict of opinion about this, which it is hardly proper to mention here Even there I saw some instances of passive resistance

The Swamiji had sent me Gujarati, Hindi and Sanskrit books Bhat Keshavram had sent *Vedasabdhasankhya* and Mr Motilal Devan, the Upanishads I also read the Manusmriti, the Ramayana Sar, published in Phoenix, the *Patanjali Yog Darshana*, the *Ahnik Prakash* of Nathuramji, the *Sandhya Gutika* given by Professor Parmanand, the *Bhagavad Gita* and the works of the late Kavi Shri Rajchandra This gave me much food for thought The Upanishads produced in me great peacefulness One sentence especially has stuck to me It means, "whatever thou dost, thou shouldst do the same for the good of the soul" The words are of great importance and deserve great consideration too

But I derived the greatest satisfaction from the writings of Kavi Shri Rajchandra In my opinion they are such as should attract universal belief and popularity. His life was as exemplary and high as Tolstoy's I had learnt some passages from them and from the *Sandhya* book by heart and repeated them at night while lying

awake Every morning also for half an hour I used to think over them, and repeat what I had learnt by heart. This kept my mind in a state of cheerfulness, night and day If disappointment or despair attacked me at times, I would think over what I had read, and my heart would instantly become gladdened, and thank God I would only say, that in this world, good books make up for the absence of good companions, so that all Indians, if they want to live happily in jail, should accustom themselves to reading good books

#### MY TAMIL STUDIES

What the Tamils have done in the struggle no other Indian community has done. So I thought that if for no other reason than to show my sincere gratefulness to them, I should seriously read their books So I spent the last month in attentively studying their language The more I studied, the more I felt its beauties It is an interesting and sweet language, and from its construction and from what I read, I saw that the Tamils contained in their midst, in the past and even now, many intelligent, clever and wise persons Again, if there is to be one nation in India, those who live outside the Madras Presidency, must know Tamil

#### THE END

I wish that the result of the perusal of these experiences would be that he who knows not what patriotism is, would learn it, and after doing so, become a passive resister, and he who is so already, would be confirmed in his attitude I also got more and more convinced that he who does not know his true duty or religion would never know what patriotism or feeling for one's own country is

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# INDIAN PROBLEMS.

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## THE DUTIES OF BRITISH CITIZENSHIP.

I consider myself a lover of the British Empire, a citizen (though voteless) of the Transvaal, prepared to take my full share in promoting the general well being of the country. And I claim it to be perfectly honourable and consistent with the above profession to advise my countrymen not to submit to the Asiatic Act, as being derogatory to their manhood and offensive to their religion. And I claim, too, that the method of passive resistance adopted to combat the mischief is the clearest and safest, because, if the cause is not true, it is the resisters, and they alone, who suffer. I am perfectly aware of the danger to good government, in a country inhabited by many races unequally developed, in an honest citizen advising resistance to a law of the land. But I refuse to believe in the infallibility of legislators. I do believe that they are not always guided by generous or even just sentiments in their dealings with unrepresented classes. I venture to say that if passive resistance is generally accepted, it will once and for ever avoid the contingency of a terrible death-struggle and bloodshed in the event (not impossible) of the natives being exasperated by a stupid mistake of our legislators.

It has been said that those who do not like the law may leave the country. This is all very well, spoken

from a cushioned chair, but it is neither possible nor becoming for men to leave their homes because they do not subscribe to certain laws enacted against them. The Uitlanders of the Boer regime complained of harsh laws they, too, were told that if they did not like them, they could retire from the country. Are Indians, who are fighting for their self-respect, to slink away from the country for fear of suffering imprisonment or worse? If I could help it, nothing would remove Indians from the country save brute force. It is no part of a citizen's duty to pay blind obedience to the laws imposed on him. And if my countrymen believe in God and the existence of the soul, then, while they may admit that their bodies belong to the state to be imprisoned and deported, their minds, their wills, and their souls must ever remain free like the birds of the air, and are beyond the reach of the swiftest arrow.

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### CIVIC FREEDOM

He well recalled an incident that happened when he went to England. A gentleman on board said, "I see you are going to London in order to get rid of the dog's collar!" Precisely, it was because they did not want to wear a dog's collar that they had put up that fight. They were willing to sacrifice everything for sentiment, but it was a noble sentiment. It was a sentiment that had to be cherished as a religious sentiment. It was a sentiment that bound people together, it was a sentiment that bound creatures to the Creator. That was the sentiment for which he asked them, advised them, if necessary, to die. Their action would be reflected throughout the British Dominions, through the length

and breadth of India, and they were now upon their trial. There was no better and no fear for a man who believed in God. No matter what might be said, he would always repeat that it was a struggle for religious liberty. By religion they did not mean formal religion, or customary religion, but that religion which underlay all religions, which brought them face to face with their Maker. If they ceased to be men, if, on taking a deliberate vow, they broke that vow in order that they might remain in the Transvaal without physical inconvenience, they undoubtedly forsook their God. To repeat again the words of the Jew of Nazareth, those who would follow God had to leave the world, and he had called upon his countrymen, in that particular instance to leave the world and cling to God, as a child would cling to the mother's breast.

Their natural deaths they could die far outside the Transvaal, wherever there was a piece of earth given them, but if they would die a noble death, a man's death, there was only one course open to them. The handful of Indians who had a right to remain in the Transvaal should be allowed to remain as worthy citizens of a mighty Empire, but should not remain as beasts so long as he could help it.

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### A PLEA FOR THE SOUL

*An extract from the letter of the London correspondent of the American "Boston Patriot" summarising an address delivered by Mr. Gandhi before the Members of the Emerson Club and of the Harpersburg Branch of the Peace and Arbitration Society, January 1908, London.*

Mr. Gandhi turned to India, and spoke with enthusiasm of Rama, the victim of the machinations of a

woman, choosing 'fourteen years' exile rather than surrender, other Orientals were mentioned, and then, through the Doukhobors of to day, he brought the thoughts of the audience to the soul resistance of Indians *versus* brute force in South Africa. He insisted that it was completely a mistake to believe that Indians were incapable of lengthened resistance for a principle, in their fearlessness of suffering they were second to none in the world. Passive resistance had been called a weapon of the weak, but Mr. Gandhi maintained that it required courage higher than that of a soldier on the battlefield, which was often the impulse of the moment for passive resistance was continuous and sustained it meant physical suffering. Some people were inclined to think it too difficult to be carried out to day but those who held that idea were not moved by true courage. Again referring to Oriental teaching, Mr. Gandhi said that the teaching of the "Lord's Song" was, from the beginning, the necessity of fearlessness. He touched on the question of physical force while insisting that it was not thought of by Indians in the Transvaal. He does not want to share in liberty for India that is gained by violence and bloodshed, and insists that no country is so capable as India for wielding soul force. Mr. Gandhi did not approve of the militant tactics of the suffragettes for the reason that they were meeting body force with body force and not using the higher power of soul force, violence beget violence. He maintained, too, that the association of Britain and India must be a mutual benefit if India—eschewing violence—did not depart from her proud position of being the giver and the teacher of religion. "If the world believes in the existence of the soul," he said in conclusion, "it must be recognised that

soul force is better than body force. It is the sacred principle of love which moves mountains. To us is the responsibility of living out this sacred law, we are not concerned with results."

Mr Gandhi protested against the mad rush of to-day, and, instead of blessing the means by which modern science has made this mad rush possible, that is, railways, motors, telegraph, telephone, and even the coming flying machines, he declared that they were diverting man's thoughts from the main purpose of life, bodily comfort stood before soul growth, man had no time to day even to know himself, he preferred a newspaper or sport or other things rather than to be left alone with himself for thought. He claimed Ruskin as on his side in this expression of protest against the drive and hurry of modern civilisation. He did not describe this development of material science as exclusively British, but he considered that its effect in India had been baneful in many ways. He instanced the desecration of India's holy places, which he said were no longer holy, for the "fatal facility" of locomotion had brought to those places people whose only aim was to defraud the unsophisticated such people, in the olden days when pilgrimages meant long and wearisome walking through jungles, crossing rivers, and encountering many dangers, had not the stamina to reach the goal. Pilgrimages in those days could only be undertaken by the cream of society, but they came to know each other, the aim of the holy places was to make India holy. Plague and famine, which existed in pre-British days, were local then, to day, locomotion had caused them to spread. To avoid the calamity which intense materialism must bring, Mr Gandhi urged that India should go back to

her former holiness which is not yet lost. The contact with the West has awakened her from the lethargy into which she had sunk. The new spirit, if properly directed, would bring blessing to both nations and to the world. If India adopted Western modern civilisation as Japan had done, there must be perpetual conflict and grasping between Briton and Indian. If, on the other hand, India's ancient civilisation can withstand this latest assault, as it has withstood so many before, and be, as of old, the religious teacher, the spiritual guide, then there would be no impassable barrier between East and West. Some circumstances exist, said Mr Gandhi, which we cannot understand, but the main purpose of life is to live rightly, think rightly, act rightly, but the soul must anguish when we give all our thought to the body.

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### HINDUS AND MOSLEMS

*The Indian Field Ambulance Corps was inaugurated by the stirring speech of His Highness the Aga Khan at a crowded and representative meeting at the Polytechnic, Regent Street, London, on October 1 1911. Mr M K Gandhi to whose suggestions on arrival from South Africa the Corps largely owed its existence presided in his capacity as Chairman of the Indian Volunteers' Association. He spoke appropriately in opening the proceedings, and announced a gift from His Highness of £200 to provide extra comforts for the Corps when on active service. The Chairman in the course of some concluding remarks said —*

"We Hindus, have to live side by side with Mahomedans. Their sorrows must be our sorrows, their joys must be our joys. I entirely believe in the doctrine that the Hindus and Mahomedans of India are the two eyes of Mother India. If one is hurt the other is equally affected, and India without

Mahomedans or without Hindus would be only a one-eyed mother, and India divided between those two sections, who would war against one another would only see with one eye, and then but faintly and dimly. With reference to the other part of His Highness's speech, I am sure we shall treasure the message he has delivered this afternoon. We shall always be conscious that we have undertaken a high duty. The camp life that we shall have to lead will knit us Indians from different parts of the Empire together in a common bond. We shall be comrades and feel as one soul as perhaps we have not been able to do in India itself. Let us then conserve all the energy we may have at our disposal in order to discharge the mission that we have undertaken."

### ON ANARCHICAL CRIMES

*The following is the summary of an address at the Students' Hall, College Square, Calcutta, delivered in March 1915, entitled: For Mr. Lyon in the chair*

Though it was the command of his Guru, the late Mr. Gokhale that Mr. Gandhi, during his stay here should keep his ears open but his mouth shut, he could not resist the temptation of addressing the meeting. It was the opinion of the speaker as well as his departed Guru that politics should not be a sealed book to the student community, for he saw no reason why students should not study and take part in politics. He went the length of saying that politics should not be divorced from religion. They would agree with him as well as their teachers, professors and the worthy Chairman that literary education is of no value, if it is not able to build up a sound character. Could it be said that the

students or the public men in this country are entirely fearless? This question engaged the speaker's serious attention although he was in exile. He understood what political dacoity or political assassination was. He had given the subject his most careful attention and he came to the conclusion that some of the students of his country were fired no doubt with zeal in their minds and with love for their motherland, but they did not know how they should love her best. He believed that some of them resorted to nefarious means, because they did not work in the fear of God, but in the fear of man. He was there to tell them that if he was for sedition, he must speak out sedition and think loudly and take the consequence. If he did so, it would clear the atmosphere of any taint of hypocrisy. If the students, who are the hopes of India, nay, perhaps of the Empire, did not work in the fear of God, but in the fear of man, in the fear of the authorities—the Government whether it is represented by the British or an indigenous body, the results would prove disastrous to the country. They should always keep their minds open, regardless of what the consequence would be, youths who have resorted to dacoities and assassinations, were misguided youths with whom they should have absolutely no connection. They should consider those persons the enemies to themselves and to their country. But he did not for a moment suggest that they should hate those people. The speaker was not a believer in Government, he would not have any Government. He believes that Government is the best that governs the least. But whatever his personal views were, he must say that misguided zeal that resorts to dacoities and assassinations cannot be productive of any good. These

dacoities and assassinations are absolutely a foreign growth in India. They cannot take root here and cannot be a permanent institution here. History proves that assassinations have done no good. The religion of this country, the Hindu religion, is abstention from 'himsa,' that is taking animal life. That is, he believes the guiding principle of all religions. The Hindu religion says that even the evil doer should not be hated. It says that nobody has any right to kill even the evil doer. These assassinations are a western institution and the speaker warned his hearers against these western methods and western evils. What have they done in the western world? If the youths imitated them and believed that they could do the slightest good to India they were totally mistaken. He would not discuss what Government was best for India, whether the British Government or the Government that existed before, though he believed that there was a great deal of room for improvement in the British Government. But he would advise his young friends to be fearless, sincere and be guided by the principles of religion. If they had a programme for the country, let them place it openly before the public. The speaker concluded the address with an appeal to the young men present, to be religious and be guided by a spirit of religion and morality. If they were prepared to die, the speaker was prepared to die with them. He would be ready to accept their guidance. But if they wanted to terrorise the country, he should rise against them.

*The President in the course of an eloquent speech eulogised the address of the evening and suggested that the young men should band themselves for the purpose of uprooting the anarchical evil from this country. He offered a vote of thanks to Mr. Gandhi.*

Mr Gandhi made a suitable reply and invited correspondence from the student community to which he promised to give a prompt reply

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### LOYALTY TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE

*At the annual gathering of the Madras Law Dinner in April 1915 Mr M K Gandhi was specially invited to propose the toast of the British Empire. The Hon'ble Mr Corbet, the Advocate-General, in doing so, referred to Mr Gandhi as a very distinguished stranger, a stranger in the sense that they had not known him long, but one whose name they were all familiar with. Mr Gandhi was a member of the profession, though he had not lately practised. Mr Ganani, he continued was about to propose the toast of the British Empire for the consolidation of which he had laboured strenuously, with absolute self devotion for many years. Mr Gandhi said —*

During my three months' tour in India, as also in South Africa, I have been so often questioned how I, a determined opponent of modern civilization and an avowed patriot could reconcile myself to loyalty of the British Empire of which India was such a large part, how it was possible for me to find it consistent that India and England could work together for mutual benefit. It gives me the greatest pleasure this evening at this great and important gathering, to re-declare my loyalty to this British Empire, and my loyalty is based upon very selfish grounds. As a passive resister I discovered that a passive resister has to make good his claim to passive resistance, no matter under what circumstances he finds himself and I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies

and honour and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire, as it is not true of any other Government. (Applause) I feel as you here perhaps know, that I am no lover of any Government and I have more than once said that that Government is best which governs least. And I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire. (Loud applause)

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### ADVICE TO STUDENTS

*Speech at the Y. M. C. A. in reply to Madras Student's address on April 27, 1915, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry presiding.*

Mr. Chairman and Dear Friends,—Madras has well-nigh exhausted the English vocabulary in using adjectives of virtue with reference to my wife and myself and, if I may be called upon to give an opinion as to where I have been smothered with kindness, love and attention, I would have to say It is Madras. (Applause). But as I have said so often, I believed it of Madras. So it is no wonder to me that you are lavishing all these kindnesses with unparalleled generosity, and now the worthy president of the Servants of India Society—under which society I am going through a period of probation—has, if I may say so, capped it all. Am I worthy of these things? My answer from the inmost recesses of my heart is an emphatic "No." But I have come to India to become worthy of every adjective that you may use, and all my life will certainly be dedicated to prove worthy of them, if I am to be a worthy servant.

And so it is that you have sung that beautiful national

song, on hearing of which all of us sprang to our feet. The poet has lavished all the adjectives that he possibly could to describe Mother India. He describes Mother India as sweet smiling, sweet speaking, fragrant, all-powerful, all good, truthful, land flowing with milk and honey, land having ripe fields, fruits and grains, land inhabited by a race of men of whom we have only a picture in the great Golden Age. He pictures to us a land which shall embrace in its possession the whole of the world, the whole of humanity by the might or right not of physical power but of soul-power. Can we sing that hymn? I asked myself "Can I, by any right, spring to my feet when I listen to that song?" The poet no doubt gave us a picture for our realisation, the words of which simply remain prophetic, and it is for you, the hope of India, to realise every word that the poet has said in describing this motherland of ours. To-day, I feel that these adjectives are very largely misplaced in his description of the motherland, and it is for you and for me to make good the claim that the poet has advanced on behalf of his motherland.

#### THE REAL EDUCATION

You, the students of Madras as well as the students all over India, are you receiving an education which will make you worthy to realise that ideal and which will draw the best out of you, or is it an education which has become a factory for making Government employees or clerks in commercial offices? Is the goal of the education that you are receiving mere services, mere employment whether in the Government departments or other departments? If that be the goal of your Education, if that is the goal that you have set before yourselves, I

feel and I fear, that the vision that the poet pictured for himself is far from being realised. As you have heard me say perhaps, or as you have read, I am and I have been a determined opponent of modern civilisation. I want you to turn your eyes to-day upon what is going on in Europe and if you have come to the conclusion that Europe is to-day groaning under the heels of the modern civilisation then you and your elders will have to think twice before you can emulate that civilisation in our Motherland. But I have been told, "How can we help it, seeing that our rulers bring that culture to our Motherland?" Do not make any mistake about it at all. I do not for one moment believe that it is for any rulers to bring that culture to you, unless you are prepared to accept it, and if it be that the rulers bring that culture before us, I think that we have forces within ourselves to enable us to reject that culture without having to reject the rulers themselves (Applause). I have said on many a platform that the British race is with us. I decline to go into the reasons why that race is with us, but I do believe that it is possible for India if she would but live up to the traditions of the sages of whom you have heard from our worthy president, to transmit a message through this great race, a message not of physical might, but a message of love. And then, it will be your privilege to conquer the conquerors not by shedding blood but by sheer force of spiritual predominance. When I consider what is going on to-day in India, I think it is necessary for us to say what our opinion is in connection with the political assassinations and political dacoities. I feel that these are purely a foreign importation which cannot take root in this land. But you the student world have to beware,

lest mentally or morally you give one thought of approval to this kind of terrorism. I, as a passive resister, will give you another thing very substantial for it. Terrorise yourself, search within, by all means resist tyranny wherever you find it, by all means resist encroachment upon your liberty, but not by shedding the blood of the tyrant. That is not what is taught by our religion. Our religion is based upon *ahimsa*, which in its active form is nothing but Love, love not only to your neighbours not only to your friends, but love even to those who may be your enemies.

One word more in connection with the same thing. I think that if we were to practise truth, to practise *ahimsa*, we must immediately see that we also practise fearlessness. If our rulers are doing what in our opinion is wrong, and if we feel it our duty to let them hear our advice, even though it may be considered sedition, I urge you to speak sedition—but at your peril, you must be prepared to suffer the consequences. And when you are ready to suffer the consequences and not hit below the belt, then I think you will have made good your right to have your advice heard even by the Government.

#### RIGHTS AND DUTIES

I ally myself to the British Government, because I believe that it is possible for me to claim equal partnership with every subject of the British Empire. I to-day claim that equal partnership. I do not belong to a subject race, I do not call myself a subject race (Applause). But there is this thing—it is not for the British Government to give you, it is for you to take the thing. I want and I can take the thing. That I want only by discharging my obligations. Max Muller has

told us,—I need not go to Max Muller to interpret our own religion—but he says, our religion consists in four letters 'D u t y' and not in the five letters 'R i g h t' And if you believe that all that we want can flow from this discharge of our duty, then think always of your duty and fishing along those lines you will have no fear of any man, you will fear only God. That is the message that my master—if I may say so, your master too—Mr. Gokhale has given to us. What is that message then? It is in the constitution of the Servants of India Society and that is the message by which I wish to be guided in my life. The message is to spiritualise the political life and the political institutions of the country. We must immediately set about realising its practice. The students cannot be away from politics. Politics is as essential to them as religion. Politics cannot be divorced from religion. My views may not be acceptable to you, I know. All the same, I can only give you what is stirring me to my very depths. On the authority of my experiences in South Africa I claim that your countrymen who had not that modern culture, but who had that strength of the Rishis of old, who have inherited the *tapascharya* performed by the Rishis, without having known a single word of English literature and without knowing anything whatsoever of the present modern culture, they were able to rise to their full height. And what has been possible for the uneducated and illiterate countrymen of ours in South Africa is ten times possible for you and for me to-day in this sacred land of ours. May that be your privilege and may that be my privilege. (Applause.)

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## POLITICS AND THE PEOPLE

*Mr and Mrs Gardin on their way to Traragobar arrived at Mayavaram on the 22nd May, 1915, and they were presented with an address by the citizens of the town. In the course of his reply, Mr Gardin said —*

It was quite by accident that I had the great pleasure of receiving an address from my 'Panchama brethren,' and there, they said that they were without convenience for drinking water, they were without convenience for living supplies, and they could not buy or hold land. It was difficult for them even to approach Courts. Probably, the last is due to their fear, but a fear certainly not due to themselves, and who is then responsible for this state of things? Do we propose to perpetuate this state of things? Is it a part of Hinduism? I do not know. I have now to learn what Hinduism really is. In so far as I have been able to study Hinduism outside India, I have felt that it is no part of real Hinduism to have in its hold a mass of people whom I would call "untouchables." If it was proved to me that this is an essential part of Hinduism, I for one would declare myself an open rebel against Hinduism itself. (Hear, hear)

Are the Brahmins in Mayavaram equiminded towards the Pariah and will they tell me, if they are so equiminded, that others will not follow? Even if they say that they are prepared to do so but others will not follow, I shall have to disbelieve them until I have revised my notions of Hinduism. If the Brahmins themselves consider they are holding high position by penance and austerity, then they have themselves much to learn, then they will be the people who have cursed and ruined the land.

My friend, the Chairman, has asked me the question whether it is true that I am at war with my leaders. I say that I am not at war with my leaders. I seem to be at war with my leaders because many things I have heard seem to be inconsistent with my notions of self-respect and with self-respect to my Motherland. I feel that they are probably not discharging the sacred trust they have taken upon their shoulders, but I am sure I am studying or endeavouring to take wisdom from them, but I failed to take that wisdom. It may be that I am incompetent and unfit to follow them. So, I shall revise my ideas. Still I am in a position to say that I seem to be at war with my leaders. Whatever they do or whatever they say does not somehow or other appeal to me. The major part of what they say does not seem to be appealing to me.

I find here words of welcome in the English language. I find in the Congress programme a Resolution on Swadeshi. If you hold that you are Swadeshi and yet print these in English, then I am not Swadeshi. To me it seems that it is inconsistent. I have nothing to say against the English language. But I do say that, if you kill the vernaculars and raise the English language on the tomb of the vernaculars (hear, hear), then you are not favouring Swadeshi in the right sense of the term. If you feel that I do not know Tamil, you should pardon me, you should excuse me and teach me and ask me to learn Tamil and by having your welcome in that beautiful language, if you translate it to me, then I should think you are performing some part of the programme. Then only I should think I am being taught Swadeshi.

I asked when we were passing through Mayavaram whether there have been any handlooms here and whether there were handloom weavers here I was told that there were 50 handlooms in Mayavaram What were they engaged in? They were simply engaged chiefly in preparing "Sarees" for our women Then is Swadeshi to be confined only to the women Is it to be only in their keeping? I do not find that our friends, the male population, also have their stuff prepared for them in these by these weavers and through their handlooms, (a voice there are 1,000 handlooms here) There are, I understand, one thousand handlooms So much the worse for the leaders! (Loud applause) If these one thousand handlooms are kept chiefly in attending to the wants of our women, double this supply of our handlooms and you will have all your wants supplied by our own weavers and there will be no poverty in the land I ask you and ask our friend the President how far he is indebted to foreign goods for his outfit and if he can tell me that he has tried his utmost and still has failed to outfit himself or rather to fit himself out with Swadeshi clothing and therefore he has got this stuff I shall sit at his feet and learn a lesson What I have been able to learn to day is that it is entirely possible for me, without any extra cost, to fit myself with Swadeshi clothing How am I to learn through those who move or who are supposed to be movers in the Congress, the secret of the Resolution? I sit at the feet of my leaders, I sit at the feet of Mayavaram people and let them reveal the mystery, give me the secret of the meaning, teach me how I should behave myself and tell me whether it is a part of the National movement that I should drive off those

who are without dwellings, who cry for water and that I should reject the advances of those who cry for food. These are the questions which I ask my friend here. Since I am saying something against you, I doubt whether I shall still enjoy or retain the affection of the student population and whether I shall still retain the blessing of my leaders. I ask you to have a large heart and give me a little corner in it. I shall try to steal into that corner. If you would be kind enough to teach me the wisdom, I shall learn the wisdom in all humility and in all earnestness. I am praying for it and I am asking for it. If you cannot teach me, I again declare myself at war with my leaders. (Loud cheers)

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## THE GURUKUL

*The following is an account of Mr. Gandhi's speech at the anniversary of the Gurukula, as written out by him self —*

I propose to reproduce as much only of it as in my opinion is worth placing on record with additions where they may be found necessary. The speech, it may be observed, was delivered in Hindi. After thanking Mahatmaji Maughi Ram for his great kindness to my boys to whom he gave shelter on two occasions and acted as father to them and after stating that the time for action had arrived rather than for speeches, I proceeded — I owe a debt of gratitude to Arya Samaj. I have often derived inspiration from its activity. I have noticed among the members of the Samaj much self-sacrifice. During my travels in India I came across many Arya Samajists who were doing excellent work for the country. I am, therefore, grateful to Mahatmaji.

I am enabled to be, in your midst. At the same time it is but fair to state that I am frankly a Sanatanist. For me Hinduism is all-sufficing. Every variety of belief finds protection under its ample fold. And though the Arya Samajists and the Sikhs and the Brahmo Samajists may choose to be classed differently from the Hindus, I have no doubt that at no distant future they will be all merged in Hinduism and find in it their fulness. Hinduism like every other human institution has its drawbacks and its defects. Here is ample scope for any worker to strive for reform, but there is little cause for secession.

#### SPIRIT OF FEARFULNESS

Throughout my travels I have been asked about the immediate need for India. And perhaps I would not do better than repeating this afternoon the answer I have given elsewhere. In general terms a proper religious spirit is the greatest and most immediate need. But I know that this is too general an answer to satisfy anybody. And it is an answer true for all time. What, therefore, I desire to say is that owing to the religious spirit being dormant in us, we are living in a state of perpetual fear. We fear the temporal as well as the spiritual authority. We dare not speak out our minds before our priests and our Pandits. We stand in awe of the temporal power. I am sure that in so doing we do a disservice to them and us. Neither the spiritual teachers nor our political governors could possibly desire that we should hide the truth from them. Lord Vallabhbhai speaking to a Bombay audience once began his speech recently 'but he had observed that we hesitated

to say 'no' when we really meant it and advised his audience to cultivate a fearless spirit. Of course, fearlessness should never mean want of due respect or regard for the feelings of others. In my humble opinion fearlessness is the first thing indispensable before we could achieve anything permanent and real. This quality is unattainable without religious consciousness. Let us fear God and we shall cease to fear man. If we grasp the fact that there is a divinity within us which witnesses everything we think or do and which protects us and guides us along the true path, it is clear that we shall cease to have any other fear on the face of the earth save the fear of God. Loyalty to the Governor of governors supersedes all other loyalty and gives an intelligent basis to the latter.

#### MEANING OF SWADESHI.

And when we have sufficiently cultivated this spirit of fearlessness, we shall see that there is no salvation for us without true Swadeshi, not the Swadeshi which can be conveniently put off. Swadeshi for me has a deeper meaning. I would like us to apply it in our religious, political and economic life. It is not therefore merely confined to wearing on occasions a Swadeshi cloth. That we have to do for all time not out of a spirit of jealousy or revenge, but because it is a duty we owe to our dear country. We commit a breach of the Swadeshi spirit certainly if we wear foreign-made cloth, but we do so also if we adopt the foreign cut. Surely the style of our dress has some correspondence with our environment. In elegance and tastefulness it is immeasurably superior to the trousers and the jacket. An Indian wearing a shirt flowing over his pyjamas with a waist coat on it without a necktie

and its flaps hanging loose behind is not a very graceful spectacle. Swadeshi in religion teaches one to measure the glorious past and re enact it in the present generation. The pandemonium that is going on in Europe shows that modern civilization represents forces of evil and darkness whereas the ancient *z. e.* Indian civilization, represents in its essence the divine force. Modern civilization is chiefly materialistic as ours is chiefly spiritual. Modern civilization occupies itself in the investigation of the laws of matter and employs the human ingenuity in inventing or discovering means of production and weapons of destruction, ours is chiefly occupied in exploring spiritual laws. Our Shastras lay down unequivocally that a proper observance of truth, chastity, scrupulous regard for all life, abstention from coveting other's possessions and refusal to hoard anything but what is necessary for our daily wants is indispensable for a right life, that without it a knowledge of the divine element is an impossibility. Our civilization tells us with daring certainty that a proper and perfect cultivation of the quality of *ahimsa* which in its active form means purest love and pity, brings the whole world to our feet. The author of this discovery gives a wealth of illustrations, which carries conviction with it.

#### THE DOCTRINE OF AHIMSA

Examine its result in the political life. There is no gift so valued by our Shashtra, as the gift of life. Consider what our relations would be with our rulers if we gave absolute security of life to them. If they could but feel that no matter what we might feel about their acts, we would hold their bodies as sacred as our own there,

would immediately spring up an atmosphere of mutual trust and there would be such frankness on either side as to pave the way for an honourable and just solution of many problems that worry us to day. It should be remembered that in practising *ahimsa* there need not be any reciprocation, though as a matter of fact in its final stages it commands reciprocation. Many of us believe, and I am one of them, that through our civilization we have a message to deliver to the world. I tender my loyalty to the British Government quite selfishly. I would like to use the British race for transmitting this mighty message of *ahimsa* to the whole world. But that can only be done when we have conquered our so called conquerors and you, my Arya Samaj friends, are perhaps specially elected for this mission. You claim to examine our scriptures critically. You take nothing for granted and you claim not to fear to reduce your belief to practice. I do not think that there is any room for trifling with or limiting the doctrine of *ahimsa*. You dare then to reduce it to practice regardless of immediate consequences which would certainly test the strength of your convictions. You would not only have procured salvation for India, but you would have rendered the noblest service that a man can render to humanity—a service moreover which you would rightly assert, the great Swami was born for. This Swadeshi is to be considered as a very active force to be ceaselessly employed with an ever-increasing vigilance searching self-examination. It is not meant for the lazy, but it is essentially meant for them who would gladly lay down their lives for the sake of truth. It is possible to dilate upon several other phases of Swadeshi, but I think I have said enough to enable you to under-

stand what I mean. I only hope that you who represent a school of reformers in India will not reject what I have said, without a thorough examination. And if my word has commended itself to you your past record entitles me to expect you, enforce in your own lives the things of eternity about which I have ventured to speak to you this afternoon and cover the whole of India with your activity.

### WORK OF ARYA SAMAJ

In concluding my report of the above speech, I would like to state what I did not in speaking to that great audience and it is this. I have now twice visited the Gurukula. In spite of some vital differences with my brethren of the Arya Samaj, I have a sneaking regard for them, and it and perhaps the best result of the activity of the Arya Samaj is to be seen in the establishment and the conduct of the Gurukula. Though it depends for its vitality entirely upon the inspiring presence of Mahatmaji Munshiram, it is truly a national and self governing and self governed institution. It is totally independent of Government aid or patronage. Its war chest is filled not out of monies received from the privileged few, but from the poor many who make it a point of honor from year to year to make a pilgrimage to Kangri and willingly give their mite for maintaining this National College. Here at every anniversary a huge crowd gathers and the manner in which it is handled, housed and fed avinces no mean power of organisation, but the most wonderful thing about it all is that the crowd consisting of about ten thousand men, women and children, is managed without the assistance

of a single policeman and without any fuss or semblance of force, the only force that subsists between the crowd and the managers of the institution is that of love and mutual esteem. Fourteen years are nothing in the life of a big institution like this. What the Collegiates who have been just turned out during the last two or three years will be able to show, remains to be seen. The public will not and cannot judge men or institutions except through the results that they show. It makes no allowance for failures. It is a most exacting judge. The final appeal of the Gurukula as of all popular institutions must be to this judge. Great responsibility therefore rests upon the shoulders of the students who have been discharged from the College and who have entered upon the thorny path of life. Let them beware. Meanwhile those who are well-wishers of this great experiment may derive satisfaction from the fact that we have it as an indisputable rule of life, that as the tree is so will the fruit be. The tree looks lovely enough. He who waters it is a noble soul. Why worry about what the fruit is likely to be?

#### INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

As a lover of the Gurukula, I may be permitted to offer one or two suggestions to the committee and the parents. The Gurukula boys need a thorough industrial training if they are to become self-reliant and self-supporting. It seems to me that in our country in which 85% of the population is agricultural and perhaps 10% occupied in supplying the wants of the peasantry, it must be part of the training of every youth that he has a fair practical knowledge of agriculture and hand weaving. He will lose nothing if he knows a proper use of tools can,

saw a piece of board straight and build a wall that will not come down through a faulty handling of the plumber's line. A boy who is thus equipped, will never feel helpless in battling with the world and never be in want of employment. A knowledge of the laws of hygiene and sanitation as well as the art of rearing children should also form a necessary part of the Gurukula lads. The sanitary arrangements at the fair left much to be desired. The plague of flies told its own tale. These irrepressible sanitary inspectors incessantly warned us that in point of sanitation all was not well with us. They plainly suggested that the remains of our food and excreta need to be properly buried. It seemed to me to be such a pity that a golden opportunity was being missed of giving to the annual visitors practical lessons on sanitation. But the work must begin with the boys. Then the management would have at the annual gathering three hundred practical sanitary teachers. Last but not least let the parents and the committee not spoil their lads by making them ape European dress or modern luxuries. These will hinder them in their after life and are antagonistic to Brahmacharya. They have enough to fight against in the evil inclinations common to us all. Let us not make their fight more difficult by adding to their temptations.

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## SWADESHI .

*The following is the full text of an address delivered before the Missionary Conference, Madras, on the 14th February, 1916*

It was not without much diffidence that I undertook to speak to you at all. And I was hard put to it in the selection of my subject. I have chosen a very delicate and difficult subject. It is delicate because of the peculiar views I hold upon Swadeshi, and it is difficult because I have not that command of language which is necessary for giving adequate expression to my thoughts. I know that I may rely upon your indulgence for the many shortcomings you will no doubt find in my address, the more so when I tell you that there is nothing in what I am about to say that I am not either already practising or am not preparing to practise to the best of my ability. It encourages me to observe that last month you devoted a week to prayer in the place of an address. I have earnestly prayed that what I am about to say may bear fruit and I know that you will bless my word with a similar prayer.

After much thinking I have arrived at a definition of Swadeshi that perhaps best illustrates my meaning. Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. Thus, as for religion, in order to satisfy the requirements of the definition, I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. That is the use of my immediate religious surrounding. If I find it defective, I should serve it by purging it of its defects. In the domain of politics I should make use of the indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects. In that of economics I should

use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting. It is suggested that such Swadeshi, if reduced to practice, will lead to the millennium. And as we do not abandon our pursuit after the millennium, because we do not expect quite to reach it within our times, so may we not abandon Swadeshi even though it may not be fully attained for generations to come.

Let us briefly examine the three branches of Swadeshi as sketched above. Hinduism has become a conservative religion and therefore a mighty force because of the Swadeshi spirit underlying it. It is the most tolerant because it is non-proselytising, and it is as capable of expansion to day as it has been found to be in the past. It has succeeded not in driving, as I think it has been erroneously held, but in absorbing Buddhism. By reason of the Swadeshi spirit, a Hindu refuses to change his religion not necessarily because he considers it to be the best, but because he knows that he can complement it by introducing reforms. And what I have said about Hinduism is, I suppose, true of the other great faiths of the world, only it is held that it is specially so in the case of Hinduism. But here comes the point I am labouring to reach. If there is any substance in what I have said, will not the great missionary bodies of India, to whom she owes a deep debt of gratitude for what they have done and are doing, do still better and serve the spirit of Christianity better by dropping the goal of proselytising but continuing their philanthropic work? I hope you will not consider this to be an impertinence on my part. I make the suggestion in all sincerity and with due humility. Moreover I have some

claim upon your attention. I have endeavoured to study the Bible. I consider it as part of my scriptures. The spirit of the Sermon on the Mount competes almost on equal terms with the Bhagavad Gita for the domination of my heart. I yield to no Christian in the strength of devotion with which I sing "Lead kindly light" and several other inspired hymns of a similar nature. I have come under the influence of noted Christian missionaries belonging to different denominations. And I enjoy to this day the privilege of friendship with some of them. You will perhaps therefore allow that I have offered the above suggestion not as a biased Hindu but as a humble and impartial student of religion with great leanings towards Christianity. May it not be that "Go Ye Unto All The World" message has been somewhat narrowly interpreted and the spirit of it missed? It will not be denied, I speak from experience, that many of the conversions are only so called. In some cases the appeal has gone not to the heart but to the stomach. And in every case a conversion leaves a sore behind it which, I venture to think, is avoidable. Quoting again from experience, a new birth, a change of heart, is perfectly possible in every one of the great faiths. I know I am now treading upon thin ice. But I do not apologise in closing this part of my subject, for saying that the frightful outrage that is just going on in Europe, perhaps shows that the message of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Peace, had been little understood in Europe, and that light upon it may have to be thrown from the East.

I have sought your help in religious matters, which it is yours to give in a special sense. But I make bold to seek it even in political matters. I do not believe

that religion has nothing to do with politics. The latter divorced from religion is like a corpse only fit to be buried. As a matter of fact in your own silent manner you influence politics not a little. And I feel that if the attempt to separate politics from religion had not been made as it is even now made, they would not have degenerated as they often appear to do. No one considers that the political life of the country is in a happy state. Following out the Swadeshi spirit, I observe the indigenous institutions and the village panchayats hold me. India is really a republican country, and it is because it is that that it has survived every shock hitherto delivered. Princes and potentates, whether they were Indian born or foreigners, have hardly touched the vast masses except for collecting revenue. The latter in their turn seem to have rendered unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's and for the rest have done much as they have liked. The vast organisation of caste answered not only the religious wants of the community, but it answered to its political needs. The villagers managed their internal affairs through the caste system, and through it they dealt with any oppression from the ruling power or powers. It is not possible to deny of a nation that was capable of producing the caste system its wonderful power of organisation. One had but to attend the great Kumbha Mela at Hardwar last year to know how skilful that organisation must have been, which without any seeming effort was able effectively to cater for more than a million pilgrims. Yet it is the fashion to say that we lack organising ability. This is due I fear, to a certain extent, of those who have been nurtured in the new traditions. We have laboured under a terrible handicap owing to an almost fatal

departure from the Swadeshi spirit. We the educated classes have received our education through a foreign tongue. We have therefore not reacted upon the masses. We want to represent the masses, but we fail. They recognise us not much more than they recognise the English officers. Their hearts are an open book to neither. Their aspirations are not ours. Hence there is a break. And you witness not in reality failure to organise but want of correspondence between the representatives and the represented. If during the last fifty years we had been educated through the vernaculars, our elders and our servants and our neighbours would have partaken of our knowledge, the discoveries of a Bose or a Ray would have been household treasures as are the Ramayan and the Mahabharat. As it is, so far as the masses are concerned, those great discoveries might as well have been made by foreigners. Had instruction in all the branches of learning been given through the vernaculars, I make bold to say that they would have been enriched wonderfully. The question of village sanitation, etc. would have been solved long ago. The village panchayats would be now a living force in a special way, and India would almost be enjoying self-government suited to its requirements and would have been spared the humiliating spectacle of organised assassination on its sacred soil. It is not too late to mend. And you can help if you will, as no other body or bodies can.

And now for the last division of Swadeshi. Much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to the ruinous departure from Swadeshi in the economic and industrial life. If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India, she would be to day a land flowing

with milk and honey. But that was not to be. We were greedy and so was England. The connection between England and India was based clearly upon an error. But she does not remain in India in error. It is her declared policy that India is to be held in trust for her people. If this be true, Lancashire must stand aside. And if the Swadeshi doctrine is a sound doctrine, Lancashire can stand aside without hurt though it may sustain a shock for the time being. I think of Swadeshi not as a boycott movement undertaken by way of revenge. I conceive it as a religious principle to be followed by all. I am no economist, but I have read some treatises which show that England could easily become a self-sustained country, growing all the produce she needs. This may be an utterly ridiculous proposition, and perhaps the best proof that it cannot be true is, that England is one of the largest importers in the world. But India cannot live for Lancashire or any other country before she is able to live for herself. And she can live for herself only if she produces and is helped to produce everything for her requirements within her own borders. She need not be, she ought not to be, drawn into the vortex of mad and ruinous competition which breeds fratricide, jealousy and many other evils. But who is to stop her great millionaires from entering into the world competition? Certainly not legislation. Forces of public opinion, proper education, however, can do a great deal in the desired direction. The hand loom industry is in a dying condition. I took special care during my wanderings last year to see as many weavers as possible, and my heart ached to find how they had lost, how families had retired from this once flourishing and honourable occupation. If we follow the Swadeshi

doctrine, it would be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such-necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible. This may all sound nonsensical. Well, India is a country of nonsense. It is nonsensical to parch one's throat with thirst when a kindly Mahomedan is ready to offer pure water to drink. And yet thousands of Hindus would rather die of thirst than drink water from a Mahomedan household. These nonsensical men can also, once they are convinced that their religion demands that they should wear garments manufactured in India only and eat food only grown in India, decline to wear any other clothing or eat any other food. Lord Curzon set the fashion for tea-drinking. And that pernicious drug now bids fair to overwhelm the nation. It has already undermined the digestive apparatus of hundreds of thousands of men and women and constitutes an additional tax upon their slender purses. Lord Hardinge can set the fashion for Swadeshi, and almost the whole of India will forswear foreign goods. There is a verse in the Bhagavat Gita, which, freely rendered, means masses follow the classes. It is easy to undo the evil if the thinking portion of the community were to take the Swadeshi vow even though it may for a time cause considerable inconvenience. I hate legislative interference, in any department of life. At best it is the lesser evil. But I would tolerate, welcome, indeed, plead for a stiff protective duty upon foreign goods. Natal, a British colony, protected its sugar by taxing

the sugar that came from another British colony, Mauritius. England has sinned against India by forcing free trade upon her. It may have been food for her, but it has been poison for this country.

It has often been urged that India cannot adopt Swadeshi in the economic life at any rate. Those who advance this objection do not look upon Swadeshi as a rule of life. With them it is a mere patriotic effort not to be made if it involved any self-denial. Swadeshi, as defined here, is a religious discipline to be undergone in utter disregard of the physical discomfort it may cause to individuals. Under its spell the deprivation of a pin or a needle, because these are not manufactured in India, need cause no terror. A Swadeshist will learn to do without hundreds of things which to day he considers necessary. Moreover, those who dismiss the Swadeshi from their minds by arguing the impossible forget that Swadeshi after all is a goal to be reached by steady effort. And we would be making for the goal even if we confined Swadeshi to a given set of articles allowing ourselves as a temporary measure to use such things as might not be procurable in the country.

There now remains for me to consider one more objection that has been raised against Swadeshi. The objectors consider it to be a most selfish doctrine without any warrant in the civilized code of morality. With them to practice Swadeshi is to revert to barbarism. I cannot enter into a detailed analysis of the proposition. But I would urge that Swadeshi is the only doctrine consistent with the law of humility and love. It is arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India when I am hardly able to serve even my own family. It were better to concentrate my effort upon

the family and consider that through them I was serving the whole nation and if you will the whole of humanity. This is humility and it is love. The motive will determine the quality of the act. I may serve my family regardless of the sufferings I may cause to others, as, for instance, I may accept an employment which enables me to extort money from people, I enrich myself thereby and then satisfy many unlawful demands of the family. Here I am neither serving the family nor the State. Or I may recognise that God has given me hands and feet only to work with for my sustenance and for that of those who may be dependent upon me. I would then at once simplify my life and that of those whom I can directly reach. In this instance I would have served the family without causing injury to anyone else. Supposing that every one followed this mode of life, we would have at once an ideal state. All will not reach that state at the same time. But those of us who, realising its truth, enforce it in practice will clearly anticipate and accelerate the coming of that happy day. Under this plan of life, in seeming to serve India to the exclusion of every other country, I do not harm any other country. My patriotism is both exclusive and inclusive. It is exclusive in the sense that in all humility I confine my attention to the land of my birth, but it is inclusive in the sense that my service is not of a competitive or antagonistic nature. *Sic utriusque ut alienam non laedat* is not merely a legal maxim, but it is a grand doctrine of life. It is the key to a proper practice of *Ahimsa* or love. It is for you, the custodians of a great faith, to set the fashion and show by your preaching, sanctified by practice, that patriotism based on "hatred killeth" and that patriotism based on "love giveth life."

## AHIMSA

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*From a letter to The Modern Review, October 1916*

There seems to be no historical warrant for the belief that an exaggerated practice of Ahimsa synchronised with our becoming bereft of manly virtues ! During the past 1,500 years we have, as a nation, given ample proof of physical courage, but we have been torn by internal dissensions and have been dominated by love of self instead of love of country. We have, that is to say, been swayed by the spirit of irreligion rather than of religion.

I do not know how far the charge of unmanliness can be made good against the Jains. I hold no brief for them. By birth I am a Vaishnavite, and was taught Ahimsa in my childhood. I have derived much religious benefit from Jain religious works as I have from scriptures of the other great faiths of the world. I owe much to the living company of the deceased philosopher, Rajachand Kavi, who was a Jain by birth. \* Thus, though my views on Ahimsa are a result of my study of most of the faiths of the world, they are now no longer dependent upon the authority of these works. They are a part of my life, and if I suddenly discovered that the religious books read by me bore a different interpretation from the one I had learnt to give them I should still hold to the view of Ahimsa as I am about to set forth here.

Our Shastras seem to teach that a man who really practices Ahimsa in its fulness has the world at his feet: he so affects his surroundings that even the snakes and other venomous reptiles do him no harm. This is said to have been the experience of St. Francis of Assisi.

In its negative form it means not injuring any living being whether by body or mind. It may not, therefore, hurt the person of any wrong-doer, or bear any ill-will to him and so cause him mental suffering. This statement does not cover suffering caused to the wrong-doer by natural acts of mine which do not proceed from ill-will. It, therefore, does not prevent me from withdrawing from his presence a child whom he, we shall imagine, is about to strike. Indeed, the proper practice of Ahimsa requires me to withdraw the intended victim from the wrong-doer, if I am in any way whatsoever the guardian of such a child. It was, therefore, most proper for the passive resisters of South Africa to have resisted the evil that the Union Government sought to do to them. They bore no ill-will to it. They showed this by helping the Government whenever it needed their help. *Their resistance consisted of disobedience of the orders of the Government, even to the extent of suffering death at their hands.* Ahimsa requires deliberate self-suffering, not a deliberate injuring of the supposed wrong doer.

In its positive form, Ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of Ahimsa, I *must love* my enemy. I must apply the same rules to the wrong-doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong doing father or son. This active Ahimsa necessarily includes truth and fearlessness. A man cannot deceive the loved one, he does not tear or frighten him or her. Gift of life is the greatest of all gifts, a man who gives it in reality, disarms all hostility. He has paved the way for an honourable understanding. And none who is himself subject to fear can bestow that gift. He must, therefore, be himself fearless.

A man cannot then practice Ahimsa and be a coward at the same time. The practice of Ahimsa calls forth the greatest courage. It is the most soldierly of soldier's virtues. General Gordon has been represented in a famous statue as bearing only a stick. This takes us far on the road to Ahimsa. But a soldier, who needs the protection of even a stick, is to that extent so much the less a soldier. He is the true soldier who knows how to die and stand his ground in the midst of a hail of bullets. Such a one was Ambarish, who stood his ground without lifting a finger though Durvasa did his worst. The Moors who were being pounded by the French gunners and who rushed to the guns' mouths with 'Allah' on their lips, showed much the same type of courage. Only theirs was the courage of desperation. Ambarisha's was due to love. Yet the Moorish valour, readiness to die, conquered the gunners. They frantically waved their hats, ceased firing, and greeted their erstwhile enemies as comrades. And so the South African passive resisters in their thousands were ready to die rather than sell their honour for a little personal ease. This was Ahimsa in its active form. It never barter away honour. A helpless girl in the hands of a follower of Ahimsa finds better and surer protection than in the hands of one who is prepared to defend her only to the point to which his weapons would carry him. The tyrant, in the first instance, will have to walk to his victim over the dead body of her defender, in the second, he has but to overpower the defender for it is assumed that the canon of propriety in the second instance will be satisfied which the defender has fought to the extent of his physical valour. In the first instance, as the defender has matched his very soul against the more

body of the tyrant, the odds are that the soul in the latter will be awakened, and the girl would stand an infinitely greater chance of her honour being protected than in any other conceivable circumstance, barring, of course, that of her own personal courage

If we are unmanly to-day, we are so, not because we do not know how to strike, but because we fear to die. He is no follower of Mahavira, the apostle of Jainism, or of Buddha or of the Vedas, who, being afraid to die, takes flight before any danger, real or imaginary, all the while wishing that somebody else would remove the danger by destroying the person causing it. He is no follower of Ahimsa who does not care a straw if he kills a man by inches by deceiving him in trade, or who would protect by force of arms a few cows and make away with the butcher, or who in order to do a supposed good to his country, does not mind killing off a few officials. All these are actuated by hatred, cowardice and fear. Here love of the cow or the country is a vague thing intended to satisfy one's vanity, or soothe a stinging conscience.

Ahimsa, truly understood, is, in my humble opinion a panacea for all evils mundane and extra-mundane. We can never overdo it. Just at present we are not doing it at all. Ahimsa does not displace the practice of other virtues, but renders their practice imperatively necessary before it can be practised even in its rudiments. Mahavira and Buddha were soldiers, and so was Tolstoy. Only they saw deeper and truer into their profession, and found the secret of a true, happy, honourable and godly life. Let us be joint sharers with these teachers, and this land of ours will once more be the abode of Gods.

## ECONOMIC PROGRESS v MORAL PROGRESS

*The following is a lecture delivered by Mr Gandhi at a Meeting of the Muir Central College Economic Society, held at Allahabad, on Friday, 22nd December, 1916*

Does economic progress clash with real progress? By economic progress, I take it, we mean material advancement without limit, and by real progress we mean moral progress, which again is the same thing as progress of the permanent element in us. The subject may therefore be stated thus. Does not moral progress increase in the same proportion as material progress? I know that this is a wider proposition than the one before us. But I venture to think that we always mean the large one even when we lay down the smaller. For we know enough of science to realize that there is no such thing as perfect rest or repose in this visible universe of ours. If therefore material progress does not clash with moral progress, it must necessarily advance the latter. Nor can we be satisfied with the clumsy way in which sometimes those who cannot defend the larger proposition put their case. They seem to be obsessed with the concrete case of thirty millions of India, stated by the late Sir William Wilson Hunter, to be living on one meal a day. They say that before we can think or talk of their moral welfare, we must satisfy their daily wants. With these they say, material progress spells moral progress. And then is taken a sudden jump, what is true of thirty millions is true of the universe. They forget that hard cases make bad law. I need hardly say to you how ludicrously absurd this deduction would be. No one has ever suggested that grinding pauperism can lead to anything else than moral degradation. Every

human being has a right to live and therefore to find the wherewithal to feed himself and where necessary to clothe and house himself. But for this very simple performance we need no assistance from economists or their laws.

'Take no thought for the morrow' is an injunction which finds an echo in almost all the religious scriptures of the world. In well-ordered society the securing of one's livelihood should be and is found to be the easiest thing in the world. Indeed, the test of orderliness in a country is not the number of millionaires it owns, but the absence of starvation among its masses. The only statement that has to be examined is, whether it can be laid down as a law of universal application that material advancement means moral progress.

Now let us take a few illustrations. Rome suffered a moral fall when it attained high material affluence. So did Egypt and so perhaps most countries of which we have any historical record. The descendants and kinsmen of the royal and divine Krishna too fell when they were rolling in riches. We do not deny to the Rockefellers and the Carnegies possession of an ordinary measure of morality but we gladly judge them indulgently. I mean that we do not even expect them to satisfy the highest standard of morality. With them material gain has not necessarily meant moral gain. In South Africa, where I had the privilege of associating with thousands of our countrymen on most intimate terms, I observed almost invariably that the greater the possession of riches, the greater was their moral turpitude. Our rich men, to say the least, did not advance the moral struggle of passive resistance as did the poor. The rich

men's sense of self-respect was not so much injured as that of the poorest. If I were not afraid of treading on dangerous ground, I would even come nearer home and show how that possession of riches has been a hindrance to real growth. I venture to think that the scriptures of the world are far safer and sounder treatises on laws of economics than many of the modern text-books. The question we are asking ourselves this evening is not a new one. It was addressed to Jesus two thousand years ago. St Mark has vividly described the scene. Jesus is in his solemn mood. He is earnest. He talks of eternity. He knows the world about him. He is himself the greatest economist of his time. He succeeded in economising time and space—he transcended them. It is to him at his best that one comes running, kneels down, and asks, 'Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?' And Jesus said unto him 'Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God. Thou knowest the commandments. Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother.' And he answered and said unto him 'Master, all these have I observed from my youth.' Then Jesus beholding him loved him and said unto him 'One thing thou lackest. Go thy way, sell whatever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven—come, take up the cross and follow me.' And he was sad at this saying and went away, grieved—for he had great possessions. And Jesus looked round about and said unto his disciples 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God.' And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answereth again and said unto them 'Children, how hard is it for them

that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God! Here you have an eternal rule of life stated in the noblest words the English language is capable of producing. But the disciples nodded unbelief as we do even to this day. To him they said as we say to-day. But look how the law fails in practice. If we sell all and have nothing, we shall have nothing to eat. We must have money or we cannot even be reasonably moral. So they state their case thus. 'And they were astonished out of measure, saying among themselves. Who then can be saved?' And Jesus looking upon them said 'With men it is impossible but not with God, for with God all things are possible.' Then Peter began to say unto him 'Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee.' And Jesus answered and said 'Verily I say unto you there is no man that has left house or brethren or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children or lands for my sake and the Gospel's but he shall receive one hundredfold, now in this time houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and land and in the world to come eternal life. But many that are first shall be last and the last first.' You have here the result or reward, if you prefer the term, of following the law. I have not taken the trouble of copying similar passages from the other non-Hindu scriptures and I will not insult you by quoting in support of the law stated by Jesus passages from the writings and sayings of our own sages, passages even stronger if possible than the Biblical extracts I have drawn your attention to. Perhaps the strongest of all the testimonies in favour of the affirmative answer to the question before us are the lives of the

greatest teachers of the world Jesus, Mahomed, Buddha, Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya, Shankara, Dayanand, Ramkrishna were men who exercised an immense influence over and moulded the character of thousands of men. The world is the richer for their having lived in it. And they were all men who deliberately embraced poverty as their lot.

I should not have laboured my point as I have done, if I did not believe that, in so far as we have made the modern materialistic craze our goal, in so far are we going down hill in the path of progress. I hold that economic progress in the sense I have put it is antagonistic to real progress. Hence the ancient ideal has been the limitation of activities promoting wealth. This does not put an end to all material ambition. We should still have, as we have always had, in our midst people who make the pursuit of wealth their aim in life. But we have always recognised that it is a fall from the ideal. It is a beautiful thing to know that the real-  
 men among us have often felt that to have remained voluntarily poor would have been a higher state for them. That you cannot serve God and Mammon is an economic truth of the highest value. We have to make our choice. Western nations are today groaning under the heel of the monster god of materialism. Their moral growth has become stunted. They measure their progress in £ s d. American wealth has become the standard. She is the envy of the other nations. I have heard many of our countrymen say that we will gain American wealth but avoid its methods. I venture to suggest that such an attempt if it were made is foredoomed to failure. The wise temperate and furious in a

moment I would have our leaders teach us to be morally supreme in the world. This land of ours was once, we are told, the abode of the Gods. It is not possible to conceive Gods inhabiting a land which is made hideous by the smoke and the din of mill chimneys and factories and whose roadways are traversed by rushing engines, dragging numerous cars crowded with men mostly who know not what they are after, who are often absent minded, and whose tempers do not improve by being uncomfortably packed like sardines in boxes and finding themselves in the midst of utter strangers, who would oust them if they could and whom they would in their turn oust similarly. I refer to these things because they are held to be symbolical of material progress. But they add not an atom to our happiness. This is what Wallace, the great scientist, has said as his deliberate judgment. 'In the earliest records which have come down to us from the past, we find ample indications that general ethical considerations and conceptions, the accepted standard of morality, and the conduct resulting from these, were in no degree inferior to those which prevail to day.' In a series of chapters he then proceeds to examine the position of the English nation under the advance in wealth it has made. He says 'This rapid growth of wealth and increase of our power over Nature put too great a strain upon our crude civilisation, on our superficial Christianity, and it was accompanied by various forms of social immorality almost as amazing and unprecedented. He then shows how factories have risen on the corpses of men, women and children how as the country has rapidly advanced in riches it has gone down in morality. He shows this by dealing with insanity on the destroying of sea-

adulteration, bribery and gambling. He shows how with the advance of wealth, justice has become immoral, deaths from alcoholism and suicide have increased, the average of premature births, and congenital defects has increased and prostitution has become an institution. He concludes his examination by these pregnant remarks

The proceedings of the divorce Courts show other aspects of the result of wealth and leisure, while a friend who had been a good deal in London society assured me that both in country houses and in London various kinds of orgies were occasionally to be met with, which would hardly have been surpassed in the period of the most dissolute emperors. Of war, too, I need say nothing. It has always been more or less chronic since the rise of the Roman Empire, but there is now undoubtedly a disinclination for war among all civilized peoples. Yet the vast burden of armaments taken together with the most pious declarations in favour of peace, must be held to show an almost total absence of morality as a guiding principle among the governing classes.

Under the British ægis we have learnt much, but it is my firm belief that there is little to gain from Britain in intrinsic morality, that if we are not careful, we shall introduce all the vices that she has been a prey to owing to the disease of materialism. We can profit by that connection only if we keep our civilization, and our morals straight, *i.e.*, if, instead of boasting of the glorious past, we express the ancient moral glory in our own lives and let our lives bear witness to our boast. Then we shall benefit her and ourselves. If we copy her because she provides us with rulers, both they and we

shall suffer degradation. We need not be afraid of ideals or of reducing them to practice even to the uttermost. Ours will only then be a truly spiritual nation when we shall show more truth than gold, greater fearlessness than pomp of power and wealth, greater charity than love of self. If we will but clean our houses, our palaces and temples of the attributes of wealth and show in them the attributes of morality, we can offer battle to any combinations of hostile forces without having to carry the burden of a heavy militia. Let us seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added unto us. These are real economics. May you and I treasure them and enforce them in our daily life.

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### THE MORAL BASIS OF CO-OPERATION

*The following is a paper contributed to the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference held on 17th September, 1917*

The only claim I have on your indulgence is that some months ago I attended with Mr Ewbank a meeting of mill-hands to whom he wanted to explain the principles of co operation. The chawl in which they were living was as filthy as it well could be. Recent rains had made matters worse. And I must frankly confess that had it not been for Mr Ewbank's great zeal for the cause he has made his own, I should have shirked the task. But there we were, seated on a fairly worn out *charpai*, surrounded by men, women and children. Mr Ewbank opened fire on a man who had put himself forward and who wore not a particularly innocent countenance. After he had engaged him and the other people about him in

Gujarati conversation, he wanted me to speak to the people. Owing to the suspicious looks of the man who was first spoken to, I naturally pressed home the moralities of co-operation. I fancy that Mr Ewbank rather liked the manner in which I handled the subject. Hence, I believe, his kind invitation to me to tax your patience for a few moments upon a consideration of co operation from a moral standpoint.

My knowledge of the technicality of co-operation is next to nothing. My brother, Devadhar, has made the subject his own. Whatever he does, naturally attracts me and predisposes me to think that there must be something good in it and the handling of it must be fairly difficult. Mr Ewbank very kindly placed at my disposal some literature too on the subject. And I have had a unique opportunity of watching the effect of some co operative effort in Champaran. I have gone through Mr Ewbank's ten main points which are like the Commandments, and I have gone through the twelve points of Mr Collins of Behar, which remind me of the law of the Twelve Tables. There are so called agricultural banks in Champaran. They were to me disappointing efforts, if they were meant to be demonstrations of the success of co operation. On the other hand, there is quiet work in the same direction being done by Mr Hodge, a missionary whose efforts are leaving their impress on those who come in contact with him. Mr Hodge is a co operative enthusiast and probably considers that the result which he sees flowing from his efforts are due to the working of co operation. I who was able to watch the two efforts had no hesitation in inferring that the personal equation counted for success in the one and failure in the other instance.

I am an enthusiast myself, but twenty-five years of experimenting and experience have made me a cautious and discriminating enthusiast. Workers in a cause necessarily, though quite unconsciously, exaggerate its merits and often succeed in turning its very defects into advantages. In spite of my caution I consider the little institution I am conducting in Ahmedabad as the finest thing in the world. It alone gives me sufficient inspiration. Critics tell me that it represents a soulless soul-force and that its severe discipline has made it merely mechanical. I suppose both—the critics and I—are wrong. It is, at best, a humble attempt to place at the disposal of the nation a home where men and women may have scope for free and unfettered development of character, in keeping with the national genius, and if its controllers do not take care, the discipline that is the foundation of character, may frustrate the very end in view. I would venture, therefore, to warn enthusiasts in co operation against entertaining false hopes.

With Sir Daniel Hamilton it has become a religion. On the 13th January last, he addressed the students of the Scottish Churches College, and in order to point a moral he instanced Scotland's poverty of two hundred years ago and showed how that great country was raised from a condition of poverty to plenty. "There were two powers," he said, "which raised her—the Scottish Church and the Scottish banks. The Church manufactured the men and the banks manufactured the money to give the men a start in life. The Church disciplined the nation in the fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom and in the parish schools of the Church the children learned that the chief end of man's life was to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever. Men

were trained to believe in God and in themselves, and on the trustworthy character so created the Scottish banking system was built " Sir Daniel then shows that it was possible to build up the marvellous Scottish banking system only on the character so built So far there can only be perfect agreement with Sir Daniel, for without character there is no co operation is a sound maxim But he would have us go much further He thus waxes eloquent on co operation " Whatever may be your day-dreams of India's future never forget this that it is to weld India into one, and so enable her to take her rightful place in the world, that the British Government is here, and the welding hammer in the hand of the Government is the co operative movement " In his opinion it is the panacea of all the evils that afflict India at the present moment In its extended sense it can justify the claim on one condition which need not be mentioned here, in the limited sense in which Sir Daniel has used it, I venture to think, it is an enthusiast's exaggeration Mark his peroration "Credit, which is only Trust and Faith, is becoming more and more the money power of the world, and in the parchment bullet into which is impressed the faith which removes mountains, India will find victory and peace " Here there is evident confusion of thought The credit which is becoming the money power of the world has little moral basis and is not a synonym for Trust or Faith, which are purely moral qualities After twenty years' experience of hundreds of men, who had dealings with banks in South Africa, the opinion I had so often heard expressed has become firmly rooted in me, that the greater the rascal the greater the credit he enjoys with his banks The banks do not pry into his moral

character they are satisfied that he meets his overdrafts and promissory notes punctually. The credit system has encircled this beautiful globe of ours like a serpent's coil, and if we do not mind, it bids fair to crush us out of breath. I have witnessed the ruin of many a home through the system, and it has made no difference whether the credit was labelled co-operative or otherwise. The deadly coil has made possible the devastating spectacle in Europe, which we are helplessly looking on. It was perhaps never so true as it is to-day that as in law so in war the longest purse finally wins. I have ventured to give prominence to the current belief about credit system in order to emphasise the point that the co-operative movement will be a blessing to India only to the extent that it is a moral movement strictly directed by men fired with religious fervour. It follows, therefore, that co-operation should be confined to men wishing to be morally right, but failing to do so, because of grinding poverty or of the grip of the Mahajan. Facility for obtaining loans at fair rates will not make immoral or unmoral men moral. But the wisdom of the State or philanthropists demands that they should help, on the onward path, men struggling to be good.

Too often do we believe that material prosperity means moral growth. It is necessary that a movement which is fraught with so much good to India should not degenerate into one for merely advancing cheap loans. I was therefore delighted to read the recommendation in the Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India, that "they wish clearly to express their opinion that it is to true co-operation alone, that is, to a co-operation which recognizes the moral aspect

of the question that Government must look for the amelioration of the masses and not to a pseudo co-operative edifice, however imposing, which is built in ignorance of co operative principles With this standard before us, we will not measure the success of the movement by the number of co-operative societies formed, but by the moral condition of the co-operators The Registrars will in that event ensure the moral growth of existing societies before multiplying them And the Government will make their promotion conditional, not upon the number of societies they have registered, but the moral success of the existing institutions. This will mean tracing the course of every pice lent to the members Those responsible for the proper conduct of co operative societies will see to it that the money advanced does not find its way into the toddy seller's till or into the pockets of the keepers of gambling dens I would excuse the rapacity of the Mahajan if it has succeeded in keeping the gambling die or toddy from the ryot's home

A word perhaps about the Mahajan will not be out of place Co operation is not a new device The ryots co operate to drum out monkeys or birds that destroy their crops They co-operate to use a common thrashing floor I have found them co operate to protect their cattle to the extent of their devoting the best land for the grazing of their cattle And they have been found co operating against a particularly rapacious Mahajan Doubts have been expressed as to the success of co operation because of the tightness of the Mahajan's hold on the ryots I do not share the fears The mightiest Mahajan must, if he represent an evil force' band before co operation, conceived as an essentially

moral movement. But my limited experience of the Mahajan of Champaran has made me revise the accepted opinion about his 'blighting influence'. I have found him to be not always relentless, not always exacting of the last pie. He sometimes serves his clients in many ways and even comes to their rescue in the hour of their distress. My observation is so limited that I dare not draw any conclusions from it, but I respectfully enquire whether it is not possible to make a serious effort to draw out the good in the Mahajan and help him or induce him to throw out the evil in him. May he not be induced to join the army of co-operation, or has experience proved that he is past praying for?

I note that the movement takes note of all indigenous industries. I beg publicly to express my gratitude to Government for helping me in my humble effort to improve the lot of the weaver. The experiment I am conducting shows that there is a vast field for work in this direction. No well-wisher of India, no patriot dare look upon the impending destruction of the hand loom weaver with equanimity. As Dr. Mann has stated, this industry used to supply the peasant with an additional source of livelihood and an insurance against famine. Every Registrar who will nurse back to life this important and graceful industry will earn the gratitude of India. My humble effort consists firstly in making researches as to the possibilities of simple reforms in the orthodox hand looms, secondly in weaning the educated youth from the craving for Government or other services and the feeling that education renders him unfit for independent occupation and inducing him to take to weaving as a calling as honourable as that of a barrister.

or a doctor, and thirdly by helping those weavers who have abandoned their occupation to revert to it. I will not weary the audience with any statement on the first two parts of the experiment. The third may be allowed a few sentences as it has a direct bearing upon the subject before us. I was able to enter upon it only six months ago. Five families that had left off the calling have reverted to it and they are doing a prosperous business. The Ashram supplies them at their door with the yarn they need, its volunteers take delivery of the cloth woven, paying them cash at the market rate. The Ashram merely loses interest on the loan advanced for the yarn. It has as yet suffered no loss and is able to restrict its loss to a minimum by limiting the loan to a particular figure. All future transactions are strictly cash. We are able to command a ready sale for the cloth received. The loss of interest, therefore, on the transaction is negligible. I would like the audience to note its purely moral character from start to finish. The Ashram depends for its existence on such help as *friends* render it. We, therefore, can have no warrant for charging interest. The weavers could not be saddled with it. Whole families that were breaking to pieces are put together again. The use of the loan is pre-determined. And we the middle men being volunteers obtain the privilege of entering into the lives of these families, I hope for their and our betterment. We cannot lift them without being lifted ourselves. This last relationship has not yet been developed, but we hope at an early date to take in hand the education too of these families and not rest satisfied till we have touched them at every point. This is not too ambitious a dream. God willing, it will be a reality some day. I have ventured to dilate upon

the small experiment to illustrate what I mean by co-operation to present it to others for imitation. Let us be sure of our ideal. We shall ever fail to realize it, but we should never cease to strive for it. Then there need be no fear of "co-operation of scoundrels" that Ruskin so rightly dreaded.

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### THIRD CLASS TRAVELLING ON INDIAN RAILWAYS

*The following communication was made by Mr. Gandhi to the Press from Ranchi, on Sept. 25, 1917.*

I have now been in India for over two years and a half after my return from South Africa. Over one quarter of that time I have passed on the Indian trains travelling 3rd class by choice. I have travelled up north as far as Lahore, down south up to Tranquebar, and from Karachi to Calcutta. Having resorted to third class travelling among other reasons for the purpose of studying the conditions under which this class of passengers travel I have naturally made as critical observations as I could. I have fairly covered the majority of railway systems during this period. Now and then I have entered into correspondence with the management of the different railways about the defects that have come under my notice. But I think that the time has come when I should invite the press and the public to join in a crusade against a grievance which has too long remained unredressed, though much of it is capable of redress without great difficulty.

On the 12th instant I booked at Bombay for Madras by the mail train and paid Rs. 13 9. It was labelled to carry 22 passengers. There could only have seating accommodation. There were no bunks in this carriage whereon passengers could lie with any degree of safety.

or comfort. There were two nights to be passed in this train before reaching Madras. If not more than 22 passengers found their way into my carriage before we reached Poona, it was because the bolder ones kept the others at bay. With the exception of two or three insistent passengers, all had to find their sleep being seated all the time. After reaching Raichur the pressure became unbearable. The rush of passengers could not be stayed. The fighters among us found the task almost beyond them. The guards or other railway servants came in only to push in more passengers.

A defiant Memon merchant protested against this packing of passengers like sardines. In vain did he say that this was his fifth night on the train. The guard insulted him and referred him to the management at the terminus. There were during this night as many as 35 passengers in the carriage during the greater part of it. Some lay on the floor in the midst of dirt and some had to keep standing. A free fight was at one time avoided only by the intervention of some of the older passengers who did not want to add to the discomfort by an exhibition of temper.

On the way passengers got for tea tannin-water with filthy sugar and a whitish looking liquid miscalled milk which gave this water a muddy appearance. I can vouch for the appearance, but I cite the testimony of the passengers as to the taste.

Not during the whole of the journey was the compartment once swept or cleaned. The result was that every time you walked on the floor or rather cut your way through the passengers seated on the floor, you waded through dirt.

The closet was also not cleaned during the journey and there was no water in the water tank

Refreshments sold to the passengers were dirty looking, handed by dirtier hands, coming out of filthy receptacles and weighed in equally unattractive scales. These were previously sampled by millions of flies. I asked some of the passengers who went in for these dainties to give their opinion. Many of them used choice expressions as to the quality but were satisfied to state that they were helpless in the matter, they had to take things as they came.

On reaching the station I found that the ghariwala would not take me unless I paid the fare he wanted. I mildly protested and told him I would pay him the authorized fare. I had to turn passive resister before I could be taken. I simply told him he would have to pull me out of the gharī or call the policeman.

The return journey was performed in no better manner. The carriage was packed already and but for a friend's intervention I could not have been able to secure even a seat. My admission was certainly beyond the authorised number. This compartment was constructed to carry 9 passengers but it had constantly 12 in it. At one place an important railway servant swore at a protestant, threatened to strike him and locked the door over the passengers whom he had with difficulty squeezed in. To this compartment there was a closet falsely so called. It was designed as a European closet but could hardly be used as such. There was a pipe in it but no water, and I say without fear of challenge that it was pestilentially dirty.

The compartment itself was evil looking. Dirt was lying thick upon the wood work and I do not know that it had ever seen soap or water.

The compartment had an exceptional assortment of passengers. There were three stalwart Punjabi Mahomedans, two refined Tamilians and two Mahomedan merchants who joined us later. The merchants related the bribes they had to give to procure comfort. One of the Punjabis had already travelled three nights and was weary and fatigued. But he could not stretch himself. He said he had sat the whole day at the central station watching passengers giving bribe to procure their tickets. Another said he had himself to pay Rs 5 before he could get his ticket and his seat. These three men were bound for Ludhiana and had still more nights of travel in store for them.

What I have described is not exceptional but normal. I have got down at Raichur, Dhond, Sonapur, Chakra-dharpur, Purulia, Asansol and other junction stations and been at the 'Mosafirkhanas' attached to these stations. They are discreditable looking places where there is no order, no cleanliness but utter confusion and horrible din and noise. Passengers have no benches or not enough to sit on. They squat on dirty floors and eat dirty food. They are permitted to throw the leavings of their food and spit where they like, sit how they like and smoke everywhere. The closets attached to these places defy description. I have not the power to adequately describe them without committing a breach of the laws of decent speech. Disinfecting powder, ashes or disinfecting fluids are unknown. The army of flies buzzing about them warns you against their use. But a third-class traveller is dumb and helpless. He does not want to complain even though to go to these places may be to court death. I know passengers who fast while they are travelling just in order to lessen the misery of their

life in the trains At Sonapur flies having failed, wasps have come forth to warn the public and the authorities, but yet to no purpose At the Imperial Capital a certain 3rd class booking office is a Black Hole fit only to be destroyed

Is it any wonder that plague has become endemic in India? Any other result is impossible (where passengers always leave some dirt where they go and take more on leaving?)

On Indian trains alone passengers smoke with impunity in all carriages irrespective of the presence of the fair sex and irrespective of the protest of non-smokers And this notwithstanding a bye-law which prevents a passenger from smoking without the permission of his fellows in a compartment which is not allotted to smokers

The existence of the awful war cannot be allowed to stand in the way of removal of this gigantic evil War can be no warrant for tolerating dirt and overcrowding One could understand an entire stoppage of passenger traffic in a crisis like this, but never a continuation or accentuation of insanitation and conditions that must undermine health and morality

Compare the lot of the 1st class passengers with that of the 3rd class In the Madras case the 1st class fare is over five times as much as 3rd class fare Does the 3rd class passenger get one fifth, even one-tenth, of the comforts of his 1st class fellow? It is but simple justice to claim that some relative proportion be observed between the cost and comfort

It is a known fact that the 3rd class traffic pays for the ever-increasing luxuries of 1st and 2nd class travelling.

Surely a 3rd class passenger is entitled at least to the bare necessities of life

In neglecting the 3rd class passengers, opportunity of giving a splendid education to millions in orderliness, sanitation, decent composite life and cultivation of simple and clean tastes is being lost. Instead of receiving an object lesson in these matters 3rd class passengers have their sense of decency and cleanliness blunted during their travelling experience.

Among the many suggestions that can be made for dealing with the evil here described, I would respectfully include this. Let the people in high places, the Viceroy, the Commander in Chief, the Rajas, Maharajas, the Imperial Councillors and others, who generally travel in superior classes, without previous warning, go through the experiences now and then of 3rd class travelling. We would then soon see a remarkable change in the conditions of the 3rd class travelling and the uncomplaining millions will get some return for the fares they pay under the expectation of being carried from place to place with the ordinary creature comforts.

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### VERNAICULARS AS MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

*The following introduction was written by Mr M K Gandhi to Dr P J Mehta's ' Self Government Series,' Pamphlet No 1, entitled " Vernaculars as Media of Instruction in Indian Schools and Colleges '*

It is to be hoped that Dr Mehta's labor of love will receive the serious attention of English educated India. The following pages were written by him for the *Vidanta Kesari* of Madras and are now printed in their present form for circulation throughout India. The question of vernaculars as media of instruction is

of national importance, neglect of the vernaculars means national suicide. One hears many protagonists of the English language being continued as the medium of instruction pointing to the fact that English Educated Indians are the sole custodians of public and patriotic work. It would be monstrous if it were not so. For the only education given in this country is through the English language. The fact, however, is that the results are not at all proportionate to the time we give to our education. We have not reacted on the masses. But I must not anticipate Dr. Mehta. He is in earnest. He writes feelingly. He has examined the pros and cons and collected a mass of evidence in support of his arguments. The latest pronouncement on the subject is that of the Viceroy. Whilst His Excellency is unable to offer a solution, he is keenly alive to the necessity of imparting instruction in our schools through the vernaculars. The Jews of Middle and Eastern Europe, who are scattered in all parts of the world, finding it necessary to have a common tongue for mutual intercourse, have raised Yiddish to the status of a language, and have succeeded in translating into Yiddish the best books to be found in the world's literature. Even they could not satisfy the soul's yearning through the many foreign tongues of which they are masters, nor did the learned few among them wish to tax the masses of the Jewish population with having to learn a foreign language before they could realise their dignity. So they have enriched what was at one time looked upon as a mere jargon—but what the Jewish children learnt from their mothers—by taking special pains to translate into it the best thought of the world. This is a truly marvellous work. It has been done during

the present generation, and Webster's Dictionary defines it as a polyglot jargon used for inter-communication by Jews from different nations.

But a Jew of middle and Eastern Europe would feel insulted if his mother tongue were now so described. If these Jewish scholars have succeeded, within a generation, in giving their masses a language of which they may feel proud, surely it should be an easy task for us to supply the needs of our own vernaculars which are cultured languages. South Africa teaches us the same lesson. There was a duel there between the Taal, a corrupt form of Dutch, and English. The Boer mothers and the Boer fathers were determined that they would not let their children, with whom they in their infancy talked in the Taal, be weighed down with having to receive instruction through English. The case for English here was a strong one. It had able pleaders for it. But English had to yield before Boer patriotism. It may be observed that they rejected even the high Dutch. The school masters, therefore, who are accustomed to speak the polished Dutch of Europe, are compelled to teach the easier Taal. And literature of an excellent character is at the present moment growing up in South Africa in the Taal, which was only a few years ago, the common medium of speech between simple but brave rustics. If we have lost faith in our vernaculars, it is a sign of want of faith in ourselves, it is the surest sign of decay. And no scheme of self government, however benevolently or generously it may be bestowed upon us, will ever make us a self governing nation, if we have no respect for the languages our mothers speak

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## GUZERATI EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Mr M K Gandhi, who presided at the 2nd Guzerat Educational Conference at Broach said, in the course of his presidential address, that he regarded the question of the medium of instruction of the highest importance and as one on which the whole edifice of education rested. He referred to the two views held on this question. There is one party that wants the mother tongue (Gujarati) to be the medium. The other party supports English. "Both are prompted by pure motives. Both have the good of the country at heart, but purity of motives alone is not sufficient for the achievement of the desired end. Experience of the world shows that often a pure motive lands us on impure ground. Let us therefore examine the merits or otherwise of the two views and see if we can arrive at unanimity on this point. This difficult question concerns the whole of India. But that does not mean that each province cannot solve it for itself, but must wait for general unanimity."

Of course, it would help us to some degree in the solution of this problem if we review the agitation and efforts of other provinces. Bengal during the excitement of the "Partition" days tried to impart instruction in Bengali. Schools were established, funds poured in but the experiments failed. In my humble opinion it failed because the organisers and teachers had not sufficient faith in their own experiment. The educated Bengali could not get out of the fascination of the English language.

It was suggested that Bengali literature owes its development to the command the Bengalis have over the

English language. In answer Mr Gandhi instanced the wonderful Bengali of Sir Ravindranath Tagore which is in no way indebted to his knowledge of English. He owes inspiration to the very atmosphere of India. He has imbibed it from the Upanishads. The same can be said of Mahatma Munshiram and Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. The service which Swami Dayanand Sarasvati rendered to Hindu literature owed nothing to English. Tukaram and Ramdas who have enriched Marathi language were not in the least under the obligation of the English language. English cannot claim any credit for the contribution to Gujarati literature of poets from Premanand and Samal Bhat down to Dalpatram. When we consider how languages grow, we come to the conclusion that a language is but the reflection of the character of the people that speak it. Language depends upon the peculiar genius and occupation of a people. The inordinate use of polished courtly forms of speech indicate that we have been under subjection for generations together. The English language abounds in nautical terms. We cannot import them in the Gujarati language but if we take to navigation, nautical phraseology will grow itself.

Mr Gandhi then referred to the laudable efforts of the Arya Samaj in making Hindi as the medium of instruction in their *Gurukuls*, and of the Telugu as the vehicle of education. Experienced teachers say that what takes sixteen years to learn through English can perfectly be acquired in ten years at the most, through the vernaculars. If thousands of our students save six years of their precious life, what a great national saving it would be.

The excessive burden of having to learn through a foreign medium has sapped our young men of their strength, enthusiasm and vitality. Sickly and pale, they can at best be mere imitators. All power of initiative, originality and enterprise, courage, discrimination and fearlessness dwindle away as years pass by. What they commence, they cannot carry out. The few that show some spirit die young. The natives of South Africa are a stalwart and a sober race. Social evils like child marriage are unknown amongst them, but they too have suffered like ourselves because they accepted Dutch as the medium of their education. They have grown impotent imitators of the west. With the loss of their mother tongue they lost all vigour and originality.

We who have received an English education cannot measure the loss we have sustained. If we consider what little hold we have upon our masses we can have some idea of that loss. We are proud of a Bose or a Roy amongst us, but I dare say had we received instruction through the vernacular for the last fifty years, we would have amongst us so many Boses and Roes that their existence would not have been a matter of surprise to us. Leaving aside the question whether Japan's activities are in the right direction or not we can say that the extraordinary enterprise and progressive life they have shown is due to their education being given in Japanese. Their education has infused a new life among the people which has been a wonder to the gaping world. Instruction through a foreign medium brings about untold evils. There must be a correspondence between the impressions and expressions we receive with our mother's milk and the education we receive at school. A foreign medium destroys the correspondence,

and whosoever helps this destruction, however pure his motives, is an enemy of his country. The evil does not stop here. The foreign medium has created an unnatural gulf between the educated classes and the masses at large.

After dealing with the medium of instruction Mr. Gandhi dwelt at length upon the subject of the national language. He gave an able reply to those who suggest that English ought to become the *lingua franca* of India. He said a national language should satisfy the following five conditions —

(1) It must be easy for the officials

(2) It must be the vehicle of religious, social and political intercourse of the people

(3) It must be spoken by a large number

(4) It must be easy of acquisition by the masses

(5) It must not be considered a temporary make shift arrangement

He then showed how English does not satisfy any of these conditions. He proved that Hindi is the only language that satisfies all these conditions. Hindi was the national language even under the Mahomedan rule and Mahomedan rulers did not think it proper to substitute it with Persian or Arabic. Hindi is written in both scripts—Urdu and Nagri.

He then pointed out defects in the methods of teaching history, geography, science and mathematics, and referred to the non provision of such subjects as Music, Agriculture, Military training, Weaving Religion and Hygiene

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## THE REWARD OF PUBLIC LIFE

*In reply to the citizens' address at Bangalore presented in May 1915, Mr Gandhi made the following speech —*

I did not want to be dragged in the carriage. There is a meaning in that. Let us not spoil our public men by dragging them. Let them work silently. We should not encourage the thought, that one has to work, because one will be honoured similarly. Let public men feel that they will be stoned, they will be neglected and let them still love the country, for service is its own reward. A charge has been brought against us that we as a nation are too demonstrative and lack businesslike methods. We plead guilty to the charge. Are we to copy modern activities or are we to copy the ancient civilisation which has survived so many shocks. You and I have to act on the political platform from a spiritual side and if this is done, we should then conquer the conquerors. The day will dawn then, when we can consider an Englishman as a fellow-citizen (Cheers). That day will shortly come, but it may be difficult to conceive when. I have had signal opportunities of associating myself with Englishmen of character, devotion, nobility and influence. I can assure you that the present wave of activity is passing away and a new civilisation is coming shortly which will be a nobler one. India is a great dependency and Mysore is a great Native State. It must be possible for you to transmit this message to British Governors and to British statesmen, the message is "Establish a Ram Rajya in Mysore and have as your minister a Vasishtha who will command obedience" (Prolonged cheers). My fellow countrymen, then you can dictate terms to the conqueror. (Prolonged cheers)

## UNVEILING MR. GOKHALE'S PORTRAIT

*The following is the speech delivered by Mr Gandhi at Bangalore in unveiling a portrait of Mr Gokhale in May, 1915*

My dear countrymen,—Before I perform this ceremony to which you have called me, I wish to say this to you that you have given me a great opportunity or rather a privilege on this great occasion. I saw in the recitation,—the beautiful recitation that was given to me,—that God is with them whose garment was dusty and tattered. My thoughts immediately went to the end of my garment, I examined and found that it is not dusty and it is not tattered, it is fairly spotless and clean. God is not in me. There are other conditions attached, but in these conditions too I may fail, and you, my dear countrymen, may also fail, and if we do tend this well, we should not dishonour the memory of one whose portrait you have asked me to unveil this morning. I have declared myself his disciple in the political field and I have him as my *Raja Guru*, and this I claim on behalf of the Indian people. It was in 1896 that I made this declaration, and I do not regret having made the choice.

Mr Gokhale taught me that the dream of every Indian who claims to love his country, should be to act in the political field, should be not to glorify in language but to spiritualise the political life of the country and the political institutions of the country. He inspired my life and is still inspiring, and in that I wish to purify myself and spiritualise myself. I have dedicated myself to that ideal. I may fail, and to what extent I may fail I call myself to that extent an unworthy disciple of my master.

## SPIRITUALISING THE POLITICAL LIFE

What is the meaning of spiritualising the political life of the country? What is the meaning of spiritualising myself? That question has come before me often and often and to you it may seem one thing, to me it may seem another thing, it may mean different things to the different members of the Servants of India Society itself. It shows much difficulty and it shows the difficulties of all those who want to love their country, who want to serve their country and who want to honour their country. I think the political life must be an echo of private life and that there cannot be any divorce between the two

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I was by the side of that saintly politician to the end of his life and I found no ego in him. I ask you, members of the Social Service League, if there is no ego in you. If he wanted to shine,—he wanted to shine in the political field of his country,—he did so not in order that he might gain public applause, but in order that his country may gain. He developed every particular faculty in him, not in order to win the praise of the world for himself, but in order that his country may gain. He did not seek public applause, but they were showered upon him, they were thrust upon him, he wanted that his country may gain and that was his great inspiration.

There are many things for which India is blamed, very rightly, and if you should add one more to our failures the blame will descend not only on you but also on me for having participated in to-day's functions. But I have great faith in my countrymen.

You ask me to unveil this portrait to-day, and I will do so in all sincerity and that should be the end of your life. (Loud and continued applause)

## HINDU UNIVERSITY SPEECH

*The following is the full text of the speech delivered on Feb 4th 1916, on the occasion of the opening of the Benares Hindu University. The speech has been edited by himself*

Whilst there is little that is new in the following address, importance is lent to it by the very special circumstances in which it was delivered —

“ Friends, I wish to tender my humble apology for the long delay that took place before I am able to reach this place. And you will readily accept the apology when I tell you that I am not responsible for the delay nor is any human agency responsible for it (Laughter) The fact is that I am like an animal on show, and my keepers in their over kindness always manage to neglect a necessary chapter in this life, and that is pure accident. In this case, they did not provide for the series of accidents that happened to us—to me, keepers, and my carriers. Hence this delay.

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Friends, under the influence of the matchless eloquence of the lady (Mrs Besant) who has just sat down, pray, do not believe that our University has become a finished product and that all the young men who are to come to the University, that has yet to rise and come into existence, have also come and returned from it finished citizens of a great empire. Do not go away with any such impression and if you, the student world to which my remarks are supposed to be addressed this evening, consider for one moment that the spiritual life, for which this country is noted and for which this country has no rival can be transmitted through the lip, pray, believe me you are wrong. You will never be able merely

through the lip, to give the message that India, I hope will one day deliver to the world. I myself have been "fed up" with speeches and lectures. I except the lectures that have been delivered here during the last two days from this category, because they were necessary. But I do venture to suggest to you that we have now reached almost the end of our resources in speech making, and it is not enough that our ears are feasted, that our eyes are feasted, but it is necessary that our hearts have got to be touched and that our hands and feet have got to be moved. We have been told during the last two days how necessary it is, if we are to retain our hold upon the simplicity of Indian character that our hands and feet should move in unison with our hearts. But this is only by way of preface. I wanted to say it is a matter of deep humiliation and shame for us that I am compelled this evening under the shadow of this great college, in this sacred city, to address my countrymen in a language that is foreign to me. I know that if I was appointed an examiner, to examine all those who have been attending during these two days this series of lectures, most of those who might be examined upon these lectures would fail. And why? Because they have not been touched. I was present at the sessions of the great Congress in the month of December. There was a much vaster audience, and will you believe me when I tell you that the only speeches that touched that huge audience in Bombay were the speeches that were delivered in Hindustani? In Bombay, mind you, not in Benares where everybody speaks Hindi. But between the vernaculars of the Bombay Presidency on the one hand, and Hindi on the other, no such great dividing line exists as there does between English and the sister

languages of India, and therefore the Congress audience was better able to follow the speakers in Hindi. I am hoping that this University will see to it that the youths who come to it will receive their instruction through the medium of their vernaculars. Our language is the reflection of ourselves, and if you tell me that our languages are too poor to express the best thought, then I say that the sooner we are wiped out of existence the better for us. Is there a man who dreams that English can ever become the national language of India? (Cries of "Never"). Why this handicap on the nation? Just consider for one moment what an unequal race our lads have to run with every English lad. I had the privilege of a close conversation with some Poona professors. They assured me that every Indian youth, because he reached his knowledge through the English language, lost at least six precious years of life. Multiply that by the number of students turned out by our schools and colleges, and find out for yourselves how many thousand years have been lost to the nation. The charge against us is that we have no initiative. How can we have any if we are to devote the precious years of our life to the mastery of a foreign tongue? We fail in this attempt also. Was it possible for any speaker yesterday and to-day to impress his audience as was possible for Mr. Higginbottom? It was not the fault of the previous speakers that they could not engage the audience. They had more than substance enough for us in their addresses. But their addressees could not go home to us. I have heard it said that after all it is English educated India which is leading and which is doing all the thinking for the nation. It would be monstrous if it were otherwise. The only

education we receive is English education. Surely we must show something for it. But suppose that we had been receiving during the past fifty years education through our vernaculars, what should we have to-day? We should have to-day a free India, we should have our educated men, not as if they were foreigners in their own land, but speaking to the heart of the nation, they would be working amongst the poorest of the poor, and whatever they would have gained during the past 50 years would be a heritage for the nation. (Applause) To-day even our wives are not the sharers in our best thought. Look at Professor Bose and Professor Roy and their brilliant researches. Is it not a shame that their researches are not the common property of the masses?

Let us now turn to another subject

The Congress has passed a resolution about self-government, and I have no doubt that the All-India Congress Committee and the Moslem League will do their duty and come forward with some tangible suggestions. But I for one must frankly confess that I am not so much interested in what they will be able to produce as I am interested in anything that the student world is going to produce or the masses are going to produce. No paper contribution will ever give us self-government. No amount of speeches will ever make us fit for self-government. It is only our conduct that will fit us for it. (Applause) And how are we trying to govern ourselves? I want to think audibly this evening. I do not want to make a speech and if you find me this evening speaking without reserve, pray, consider that you are only sharing the thoughts of a man who allows himself to think audibly, and if you

think that I seem to transgress the limits that courtesy imposes upon me, pardon me for the liberty I may be taking. I visited the Viswanath temple last evening, and as I was walking through those lanes, these were the thoughts that touched me. If a stranger dropped from above on to this great temple, and he had to consider what we, as Hindus, would he not be justified in condemning us? Is not this great temple a reflection of our own character? I speak feelingly, as a Hindu. Is it right that the lanes of our sacred temple should be as dirty as they are? The houses round about are built anyhow. The lanes are tortuous and narrow. If even our temples are not models of roominess and cleanliness, what can our self government be? Shall our temples be abodes of holiness, cleanliness and peace as soon as the English have retired from India, either of their own pleasure or by compulsion, bag and baggage?

I entirely agree with the president of the Congress that before we think of self government, we shall have to do the necessary plodding. In every city there are two divisions, the cantonment and the city proper. The city mostly is a stinking den. But we are a people unused to city life. But if we want city life, we cannot reproduce the easy going hamlet life. It is not comforting to think that people walk about the streets of Indian Bombay under the perpetual fear of dwellers in the storeyed buildings spitting upon them. I do a great deal of Railway travelling. I observe the difficulty of third class passengers. But the Railway Administration is by no means to blame for all their hard lot. We do not know the elementary laws of cleanliness. We spit anywhere on the carriage floor irrespective of the thought that it is

often used as sleeping space. We do not trouble ourselves as to how we use the result is indescribable filth in the compartment. The so called better class passengers overawe their less fortunate brethren. Among them I have seen the students' world also. Sometimes they behave no better. They can speak English and they have worn Norfolk jackets and therefore claim the right to force their way in and command seating accommodation. I have turned the searchlight all over, and as you have given me the privilege of speaking to you I am laying my heart bare. Surely we must set these things right in our progress towards self-government. I now introduce you to another scene. His Highness the Maharajah who presided yesterday over our deliberations spoke about the poverty of India. Other speakers laid great stress upon it. But what did we witness in the great pandal in which the foundation ceremony was performed by the Viceroy. Certainly a most gorgeous show, an exhibition of jewellery which made a splendid feast for the eyes of the greatest jeweller who chose to come from Paris. I compare with the richly bedecked noblemen the millions of the poor. And I feel like saying to these noblemen "There is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of this jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India." (Hear, hear and applause.) I am sure it is not the desire of the King-Emperor or Lord Hardinge that in order to show the truest loyalty to our King-Emperor, it is necessary for us to ransack our jewellery-boxes and to appear bedecked from top to toe. I would undertake, at the peril of my life, to bring to you a message from King George himself that he expects nothing of the kind. Sir

whenever I hear of a great palace rising in any great city of India, be it in British India or be it in India which is ruled by our great chiefs, I become jealous at once, and I say "Oh, it is the money that has come from the agriculturists" Over 75 per cent of the population are agriculturists and Mr. Higginbottom told us last night in his own felicitous language, that they are the men who grow two blades of grass in the place of one But there cannot be much spirit of self-government about us if we take away or allow others to take away from them almost the whole of the results of their labour Our salvation can only come through the farmer Neither the lawyers, nor the doctors, nor the rich landlords are going to secure it

Now, last but not the least, it is my bounden duty to refer to what agitated our minds during these two or three days All of us have had many anxious moments while the Viceroy was going through the streets of Benares There were detectives stationed in many places We were horrified We asked ourselves "Why this distrust? Is it not better that even Lord Hardinge should die than live a living death? But a representative of a mighty sovereign may not He might find it necessary even to live a living death But why was it necessary to impose these detectives on us? We may foam, we may fret, we may resent, but let us not forget that India of to day in her impatience has produced an army of anarchists I myself am an anarchist, but of another type But there is a class of anarchists amongst us, and if I was able to reach this class, I would say to them that their anarchism has no room in India, if India is to conquer the conquerer It is a sign of fear If we trust and fear God, we shall have to fear

no one, not Maharajahs, not Viceroys, not the detectives, not even King George I honour the anarchist for his love of the country I honour him for his bravery in being willing to die for his country, but I ask him—Is killing honourable? Is the dagger of an assassin a fit precursor of an honourable death? I deny it. There is no warrant for such methods in any scriptures. If I found it necessary for the salvation of India that the English should retire, that they should be driven out, I would not hesitate to declare that they would have to go, and I hope I would be prepared to die in defence of that belief. That would, in my opinion, be an honourable death. The bomb-thrower creates secret plots, is afraid to come out into the open, and when caught pays the penalty of mis-directed zeal. I have been told "Had we not done this, had some people not thrown bombs we should never have gained what we have got with reference to the partition movement" (Mrs Besant Please stop it) This was what I said in Bengal when Mr Lyon presided at the meeting. I think what I am saying is necessary. If I am told to stop I shall obey (Turning to the Chairman) I await your orders. If you consider that by my speaking as I am, I am not serving the country and the empire I shall certainly stop (Cries of "Go on") (The Chairman —Please explain your object) I am explaining my object. I am simply (Another interruption) My friends, please do not resent this interruption. If Mrs Besant this evening suggests that I should stop she does so because she loves India so well, and she considers that I am erring in thinking audibly before you young men. But even so, I simply say this that I want to purge India of this atmosphere of suspicion on either side. If we are

to reach our goal, we should have an empire which is to be based upon mutual love and mutual trust. Is it not better that we talk under the shadow of this college than that we should be talking irresponsibly in our homes? I consider that it is much better that we talk these things openly. I have done so with excellent results before now. I know that there is nothing that the students are not discussing. There is nothing that the students do not know. I am therefore turning the search-light towards ourselves. I hold the name of my country so dear to me that I exchange these thoughts with you, and submit to you that there is no room for anarchism in India. Let us frankly and openly say whatever we want to say to our rulers, and face the consequences if what we have to say does not please them. But let us not abuse. I was talking the other day to a member of the much abused Civil Service. I have not very much in common with the members of that Service, but I could not help admiring the manner in which he was speaking to me. He said, Mr Gandhi, do you for one moment suppose that all we Civil Servants are a bad lot, that we want to oppress the people whom we have come to govern? 'No,' I said, then if you get an opportunity put in a word for the much-abused Civil Service? And I am here to put in that word. Yes, many members of the Indian Civil Service are most decidedly over-bearing, they are tyrannical, at times thoughtless. Many other adjectives may be used. I grant all these things and I grant also that after having lived in India for a certain number of years some of them become somewhat degraded. But what does that signify? They were gentlemen before they came here, and if they have lost some of the moral fibre, it is a reflection upon ourselves.

(Cries of "No") Just think out for yourselves, if a man who was good yesterday and has become bad after having come in contact with me, is he responsible that he has deteriorated or am I? The atmosphere of sycophancy and falsity that surrounds them on their coming to India demoralises them, as it would many of us. It is well to take the blame sometimes.

If we are to receive self-government, we shall have to take it. We shall never be granted self-Government. Look at the history of the British Empire and the British nation, freedom-loving as it is, will not be a party to give freedom to a people who will not take it themselves. Learn your lesson if you wish to from the Boer War. These who were enemies of that empire only a few years ago have now become friends.

At this point there was an interruption and there was a movement on the platform to leave, the speech therefore ended here abruptly.

*Note In casting the speech I have altered no sentiment. I have merely removed some of the verbiage which in cold print would make the speech bad reading.*

M K G

## THE SATYAGRAHASHRAMA

\* This Address was delivered at the Y.M.C.A. Auditorium, Madras, on the 16th February 1917, the Hon. Rev. G. Putterarigh, Principal of the Madras Christian College, presided on the occasion.

To many of the students who came here last year to converse with me, I said I was about to establish an institution—Ashrama—somewhere in India, and it is

about that place that I am going to talk to you this morning I feel and I have felt during the whole of my public life that what we need, what any nation needs, but we perhaps of all the nations of the world need just now is nothing else and nothing less than character-building. And this is the view propounded by that great patriot, Mr Gokhale (cheers). As you know in many of his speeches, he used to say that we would get nothing, we would deserve nothing unless we had character to back what we wished for. Hence his founding of that great body, the Servants of India Society. And as you know, in the prospectus that has been issued in connection with the Society Mr Gokhale has deliberately stated that it was necessary to spiritualise the political life of the country. You know also that he used to say so often that our average was less than the average of so many European nations. I do not know whether that statement by him whom, with pride, I consider to be my political *Guru*, has really foundation in fact, but I do believe that there is much to be said to justify it in so far as educated India is concerned, not because we, the educated portion of the community, have blundered, but because we have been creatures of circumstances. Be that as it may, this is the maxim of life which I have accepted, namely, that no work done by any man, no matter how great he is, will really prosper unless he has a religious backing. But what is religion? The question will be immediately asked. I, for one, would answer, Not the religion which you will get after reading all the scriptures of the world, it is not really a grasp by the brain, but it is a heart grasp. It is a thing which is not alien to us but it is a thing which has to be evolved out of us. It is always within us, with some consciously

so, with the others quite unconsciously. But it is there, and whether we wake up this religious instinct in us through outside assistance or by inward growth, no matter how it is done, it has got to be done if we want to do anything in the right manner and anything that is going to persist.

Our Scriptures have laid down certain rules as maxims of life and as axioms which we have to take for granted as self-demonstrated truths. The Shastras tell us that without living, according to these maxims, we are incapable even of having a reasonable perception of religion. Believing in these implicitly for all these long years and having actually endeavoured to reduce to practice these injunctions of the Shastras, I have deemed it necessary to seek the association of those who think with me, in founding this institution. And I shall venture this morning to place before you the rules that have been drawn up and that have to be observed by every one who seeks to be a member of that *Ashrama*.

Five of these are known as *Yamas*, and the first and the foremost is,

#### THE VOW OF TRUTH     •

Not truth simply as we ordinarily understand it, that as far as possible we ought not to resort to a lie, that is to say, not truth which merely answers the saying, "Honesty is the best policy"—implying that if it is not the best policy, we may depart from it. But here truth as it is conceived, means that we have to rule our life by this law of Truth at any cost. And in order to satisfy the definition I have drawn upon the celebrated illustration of the life of *Prahlad*. For the sake of truth, he dared to oppose his own father, and he defended himself, not

by retaliation, by paying his father back in his own coin but in defence of Truth, as he knew it, he was prepared to die without caring to return the blows that he had received from his father or from those who were charged with his father's instructions. Not only that he would not in any way even parry the blows on the contrary, with a smile on his lips, he underwent the innumerable tortures to which he was subjected, with the result that, at last, Truth rose triumphant, not that Prahlad suffered the tortures because he knew that some day or other in his very life-time he would be able to demonstrate the infallibility of the law of Truth. That fact was there, but if he had died in the midst of tortures, he would still have adhered to Truth. That is the Truth which I would like to follow. There was an incident I noticed yesterday. It was a trifling incident, but I think these trifling incidents are like straws which show which way the wind is blowing. The incident was this. I was talking to a friend who wanted to talk to me aside, and we were engaged<sup>d</sup> in a private conversation. A third friend dropped in, and he politely asked whether he was intruding. The friend to whom I was talking said, "Oh, no, there is nothing private here." I felt taken aback a little, because, as I was taken aside, I knew that so far as this friend was concerned, the conversation was private. But he immediately, out of politeness, I would call it overpoliteness, said, there was no private conversation and that he (the third friend) could join. I suggest to you that this is a departure from my definition of Truth. I think that the friend should have, in the gentlest manner possible, but still openly and frankly, said "Yes, just now, as you properly say, you would be intruding," without giving the slightest

offence to the person if he was himself a gentleman—and we are bound to consider every body to be a gentleman unless he proves to be otherwise. But I may be told that the incident, after all, proves the gentility of the nation. I think that it is over proving the case. If we continue to say these things out of politeness, we really become a nation of hypocrites. I recall a conversation I had with an English friend. He was comparatively a stranger. He is a Principal of a College and has been in India for several years. He was comparing notes with me, and he asked me whether I would admit that we, unlike most Englishmen, would not dare to say "No" when it was "No" that we *meant*. And I must confess that I immediately said "Yes", I agreed with that statement.—We do hesitate to say "No", frankly and boldly, when we want to pay due regard to the sentiments of the person whom we are addressing. In this *Ashrama* we make it a rule that we must say "No" when we mean "No," regardless of consequences. This then is the first rule. Then we come to the

#### DOCTRINE OF AHIMSA

Literally speaking, *Ahimsa* means non-killing. But to me it has a world of meaning and takes me into realms much higher, infinitely higher, than the realm to which I would go, if I merely understood by *Ahimsa* non-killing. *Ahimsa* really means that you may not offend anybody, you may not harbour an uncharitable thought even in connection with one who may consider himself to be your enemy. Pray notice the guarded nature of this thought, I do not say "whom you consider to be your enemy", but "who may consider himself to be your enemy". For one who follows the doctrine of *Ahimsa*

there is no room for <sup>an</sup> enemy he denies the existence of an enemy. But there are people who consider themselves to be his enemies, and he cannot help that circumstance. So, it is held that we may not harbour an evil thought even in connection with such persons. If we return blow for blow, we depart from the doctrine of *Ahimsa*. But I go further. If we resent a friend's action or the so-called enemy's action, we still fall short of this doctrine. But when I say, we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce, but by resenting I mean wishing that some harm should be done to the enemy, or that he should be put out of the way, not even by any action of ours, but by the action of somebody else, or, say, by Divine agency. If we harbour even this thought, we depart from this doctrine of *Ahimsa*. Those who join the *Ashrama* have to literally accept that meaning. That does not mean that we practise that doctrine in its entirety. Far from it. It is an ideal which we have to reach, and it is an ideal to be reached even at this every moment, if we are capable of doing so. But it is not a proposition in geometry to be learnt by heart, it is not even like solving difficult problems in higher mathematics, it is infinitely more difficult than solving those problems. Many of you have burnt the midnight oil in solving those problems. If you want to follow out this doctrine, you will have to do much more than burn the midnight oil. You will have to pass many a sleepless night, and go through many a mental torture and agony before you can reach, before you can even be within measurable distance of this goal. It is the goal, and nothing less than that, you and I have to reach, if we want to understand what a religious life means. I will not say much more on this

doctrine than this that a man who believes in the efficacy of this doctrine finds in the ultimate stage, when he is about to reach the goal, the whole world at his feet,—not that he wants the whole world at his feet, but it must be so. If you express your love—*Ahimsa*—in such a manner that it impresses itself indelibly upon your so called enemy, he must return that love. Another thought which comes out of this is that, under this rule, there is no room for organized assassinations, and there is no room for murders even openly committed, and there is no room for any violence even for the sake of your country, and even for guarding the honour of precious ones that may be under your charge. After all that would be a poor defence of honour. This doctrine of *Ahimsa* tells us that we may guard the honour of those who are under our charge by delivering *ourselves* into the hands of the man who would commit the sacrilege. And that requires far greater physical and mental courage than the delivering of blows. You may have some degree of physical power,—I do not say courage—and you may use that power. But after that is expended, what happens? The other man is filled with wrath and indignation, and you have made him more angry by matching your violence against his, and when he has done you to death, the rest of his violence is delivered against your charge. But if you do not retaliate, but stand your ground, between your charge and the opponent, simply receiving the blows without retaliating, what happens? I give you my promise that the whole of the violence will be expended on you, and your charge will be left unscathed. Under this plan of life there is no conception of patriotism which justifies such wars as you witness to day in Europe. Then there is

## THE VOW OF CELIBACY

Those who want to perform national service, or those who want to have a glimpse of the real religious life, must lead a celibate life no matter if married or unmarried. Marriage but brings a woman closer together with the man, and they become friends in a special sense, never to be parted either in this life or in the lives that are to come. But I do not think that, in our conception of marriage, our lusts should necessarily enter. Be that as it may, this is what is placed before those who come to the *Ashrama*. I do not deal with that at any length. Then we have

## THE VOW OF CONTROL OF THE

## PALATE

A man who wants to control his animal passions easily does so if he control his palate. I fear this is one of the most difficult vows to follow. I am just now coming after having inspected the Victoria Hostel. I saw there not to my dismay, though it should be to my dismay, but I am used to it now, that there are so many kitchens, not kitchens that are established in order to serve caste restrictions but kitchens that have become necessary in order that people can have the condiments, and the exact weight of the condiments, to which they are used in the respective places from which they have come. And therefore we find that for the Brahmans themselves there are different compartments and different kitchens catering for the delicate tastes of all these different groups. I suggest to you that this is simply slavery to the palate, rather than mastery over it. I may say this unless we take our minds off from this habit, and unless we shut our eyes to the tea shops and coffees hope

and all these kitchens, and unless we are satisfied with foods that are necessary for the proper maintenance of our physical health, and unless we are prepared to rid ourselves of stimulating, heating and exciting condiments that we mix with our food, we will certainly not be able to control the overabundant, unnecessary, and exciting stimulation that we may have. If we do not do that, the result naturally is, that we abuse ourselves and we abuse even the sacred trust given to us, and we become less than animals and brutes. Eating, drinking and indulging passions we share in common with the animals but have you ever seen a horse or a cow indulging in the abuse of the palate as we do? Do you suppose that it is a sign of civilization, a sign of real life that we should multiply our eatables so far that we do not even know where we are, and seek dish after dish until at last we have become absolutely mad and run after the newspaper sheets which give us advertisements about these dishes? Then we have

### THE VOW OF NON THIEVING

I suggest that we are thieves in a way. If I take anything that I do not need for my own immediate use, and keep it, I thieve it from somebody else. I venture to suggest that it is the fundamental law of Nature, without exception, that Nature produces enough for our wants from day to day, and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world, there would be no man dying of starvation in this world. But so long as we have got this inequality so long we are thieving. I am no socialist, and I do not want to dispossess those who have got possessions, but I do say that, personally, those of us

who want to see light out of darkness have to follow this rule I do not want to dispossess anybody I should then be departing from the rule of *Ahimsa* If somebody else possesses more than I do, let him But so far as my own life has to be regulated, I do say that I dare not possess anything which I do not want In India we have got three millions of people having to be satisfied with one meal a day, and that meal consisting of a chapatti containing no fat in it, and a pinch of salt You and I have no right to anything that we really have until these three millions are clothed and fed better You and I, who ought to know better, must adjust our wants, and even undergo voluntary starvation, in order that they may be nursed, fed and clothed Then there is the vow of non-possession which follows as a matter of course Then I go to

#### THE VOW OF SWADESHI

The vow of *Swadeshi* is a necessary vow But you are conversant with the *Swadeshi* life and the *Swadeshi* spirit I suggest to you we are departing from one of the sacred lays of our being when we leave our neighbour and go out somewhere else in order to satisfy our wants If a man comes from Bombay here and offers you wares, you are not justified in supporting the Bombay merchant or trader so long as you have got a merchant at your very door, born and bred in Madras That is my view of *Swadeshi* In your village so long as you have got your village barber, you are bound to support him to the exclusion of the finished barber who may come to you from Madras If you find it necessary that your village barber should reach the

attainments of the barber from Madras you may train him to that. Send him to Madras by all means if you wish, in order that he may learn his calling. Until you do that you are not justified in going to another barber. That is *Swadesh*. So, when we find that there are many things that we cannot get in India, we must try to do without them. We may have to do without many things which we may consider necessary, but believe me when you have that frame of mind, you will find a great burden taken off your shoulders, even as the Pilgrim did in that inimitable book, "Pilgrim's Progress." There came a time when the mighty burden that the Pilgrim was carrying on his shoulders unconsciously dropped from him, and he felt a freer man than he was when he started on the journey. So will you feel freer men than you are now, immediately you adopt this *Swadesh* life. We have also

#### THE VOW OF SILENCE

I found, throughout my wanderings in India, that India, educated India, is seized with a paralysing fear. We may not open our lips in public, we may not declare our confirmed opinions in public, we may hold those opinions, we may talk about them secretly, and we may do anything we like within the four walls of our house,—but those are not for public consumption. If we had taken a vow of silence I would have nothing to say. When we open our lips in public, we say things which we do not really believe in. I do not know whether this is not the experience of almost every public man who speaks in India. I then suggest to you that there is only one Being, if Being is the proper term to be used, whom we have to fear, and that is God. When we fear God, we shall fear no man, no matter how high-placed he may be.

And if you want to follow the vow of truth in any shape or form, fearlessness is the necessary consequence. And so you find, in the *Bhagavad Gita*, fearlessness is declared as the first essential quality of a Brahmin. We fear consequences, and therefore we are afraid to tell the Truth. A man who fears God will certainly not fear any earthly consequence. Before we can aspire to the position of understanding what religion is, and before we can aspire to the position of guiding the destinies of India, do you not see that we should adopt this habit of fearlessness? Or shall we over-awe our countrymen, even as we are over-awed? We thus see how important this "fearlessness now" is. And we have also

#### THE VOW REGARDING THE UNTOUCHABLES

There is an ineffaceable blot that Hinduism to day carries with it. I have declined to believe that it has been handed to us from immemorial times. I think that this miserable, wretched, enslaving spirit of "untouchableness" must have come to us when we were in the cycle of our lives, at our lowest ebb, and that evil has still stuck to us and it still remains with us. It is, to my mind, a curse that has come to us, and as long as that curse remains with us, so long I think we are bound to consider that every affliction that we labour under in this sacred land is a fit and proper punishment for this great and indelible crime that we are committing. That any person should be considered untouchable because of his calling passes one's comprehension, and you, the student world who receive all this modern education, if you become a party to this crime, it were better that you received no education whatsoever.

Of course, we are labouring under a very heavy handicap. Although you may realise that there cannot be a single human being on this earth who should be considered to be untouchable, you cannot react upon your families, you cannot react upon your surroundings, because all your thought is conceived in a foreign tongue, and all your energy is devoted to that. And so we have also introduced a rule in this Ashrama that we shall receive our

#### EDUCATION THROUGH THE VERNACULARS

In Europe every cultured man learns, not only his language, but also other languages, certainly three or four. And even as they do in Europe, in order to solve the problem of language in India, we in this Ashrama, make it a point to learn as many Indian vernaculars as we possibly can. And I assure you that the trouble of learning these languages is nothing compared to the trouble that we have to take in mastering the English language. We never master the English language with some exceptions it has not been possible for us to do so, we can never express ourselves as clearly as we can in our own mother tongue. How dare we rub out of our memory all the years of our infancy? But that is precisely what we do when we commence our higher life, as we call it, through the medium of a foreign tongue. This creates a breach in our life for bringing which we shall have to pay dearly and heavily. And you will see now the connection between these two things,—education and untouchableness—this persistence of the spirit of untouchableness even at this time of the day in spite of the spread of knowledge and education. Education has enabled us to see the horrible crime.

But we are seized with fear also and, therefore, we cannot take this doctrine to our homes. And we have got a superstitious veneration for our family traditions and for the members of our family. You say, "My parents will die if I tell them that I, at least, can no longer partake of his crime." I say that Pahlad never considered that his father would die if he pronounced the sacred syllables of the name of *Vishnu*. On the contrary, he made the whole of that household ring, from one corner to another, by repeating that name even in the sacred presence of his father. And so you and I may do this thing in the sacred presence of our parents. If, after receiving this rude shock, some of them expire, I think that would be no calamity. It may be that some rude shocks of the kind might have to be delivered. So long as we persist in these things which have been handed down to us for generations, these incidents may happen. But there is a higher law of Nature, and in due obedience to that higher law my parents and myself should make that sacrifice.

#### AND THEN WE FOLLOW HAND-WEAVING

You may ask "Why should we use our hands?" and say 'the manual work has got to be done by those who are illiterate. I can only occupy myself with reading literature and political essays.' I think we have to realise the dignity of labour. If a barber or shoe maker attends a college, he ought not to abandon the profession of barber or shoe maker. I consider that a barber's profession is just as good as the profession of medicine.

Last of all, when you have conformed to these rules, think that then, and not till then, you may come to

## POLITICS •

and dabble in them to your heart's content, and certainly you will then never go wrong. Politics, divorced of religion, have absolutely no meaning. If the student-world crowd the political platforms of this country, to my mind, it is not necessarily a healthy sign of national growth, but that does not mean that you, in your student-life, ought not to study politics. Politics are a part of our being, we ought to understand our national institutions, and we ought to understand our national growth and all those things. We may do it from our infancy. So, in our *Ashrama*, every child is taught to understand the political institutions of our country, and to know how the country is vibrating with new emotions, with new aspirations, with a new life. But we want also the steady light, the infallible light, of religious faith, not a faith which merely appeals to the intelligence, but a faith which is indelibly inscribed on the heart. First, we want to realise that religious consciousness, and immediately we have done that, I think the whole department of life is open to us, and it should then be a sacred privilege of students and everybody to partake of that whole life, so that, when they grow to manhood and when they leave their colleges they may do so as men properly equipped to battle with life. To day what happens is this: much of the political life is confined to student life, immediately the students leave their colleges and cease to be students, they sink into oblivion, they seek miserable employments, carrying miserable emoluments, rising no higher in their aspirations, knowing nothing of God, knowing nothing of fresh air or bright light and nothing of that real vigorous independence that comes out of obedience to these laws that I have ventured to place before you.

### GUZERAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE.

*The following is an English translation of Mr Gandhi's most original and outspoken Presidential address to the first Guzerat political conference held at Godhra on November 3, 1917*

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I am thankful to you all for the exalted position to which you have called me. I am but a baby of two years and a half in Indian politics. I cannot trade, here, on my experience in South Africa. I know that acceptance of the position is to a certain extent an impertinence. And yet I have been unable to resist the pressure your overwhelming affection has exerted upon me.

I am conscious of my responsibility. This conference is the first of its kind in Gujarat. The time is most critical for the whole of India. The empire is labouring under a strain never before experienced. My views do not quite take the general course. I feel that some of them run in the opposite direction. Under the circumstances, I can hardly claim this privileged position. The president of a meeting is usually its spokesman. I cannot pretend to lay any such claim. It is your kindness that gives me such a unique opportunity of placing my thoughts before the Gujarat public. I do not see anything wrong in these views being subjected to criticism, dissent, and even emphatic protest. I would like them to be freely discussed. I will only say with regard to them that they were not formed to day or yesterday. But they were formed years ago. I am enamoured of them and my Indian experience of two years and a half has not altered them.

I congratulate the originators of the proposal to hold this Conference as also those friends who have reduced

it to practice. It is a most important event for Gujarat. It is possible for us to make it yield most important results. This conference is in the nature of a foundation, and if it is well and truly laid, we need have no anxiety as to the superstructure. Being the first progenitor, its responsibility is great. I pray that God will bless us with wisdom and that our deliberations will benefit the people.

This is a political conference. Let us pause a moment over the word 'political'. It is, as a rule, used in a restricted sense, but I believe it is better to give it a wider meaning. If the work of such a conference were to be confined to a consideration of the relations between the rulers and the ruled, it would not only be incomplete, but we should, even fail to have an adequate conception of those relations. For instance the question of Mhowra flowers is of great importance for a part of Gujarat. If it is considered merely as a question between the Government and the people, it might lead to an untoward end, or even to one never desired by us. If we considered the genesis of the law on Mhowra flowers and also appreciated our duty in the matter, we would, very probably, succeed sooner in our fight with Government than otherwise, and we would easily discover the key to successful agitation. You will more clearly perceive my interpretation of the word 'political' in the light of the views now being laid before you.

Conferences do not, as a rule, after the end of their deliberations, appear to leave behind them an executive body, and even when such a body is appointed, it is, to use the language of the late Mr Gokhale, composed of men who are

amateurs What is wanted in order to give effect to the resolutions of such conferences is men who would make it their business to do so If such men come forward in great numbers, then and then only will such conferences be a credit to the country and produce lasting results. At present there is much waste of energy It is desirable that there were many institutions of the type of the Servants of India Society Only when men fired with the belief that service is the highest religion, come forward in great numbers, only then could we hope to see great results Fortunately, the religious spirit still binds India, and if during the present age the service of the motherland becomes the end of religion, men and women of religion in large numbers would take part in our public life When sages and saints take up this work, India will easily achieve her cherished aims At all events it is incumbent on us that for the purposes of this conference we formed an executive committee whose business it would be to enforce its resolutions

The sound of Swaraj pervades the Indian air It is due to Mrs. Besant that Swaraj is on the lips of hundreds of thousands of men and women What was unknown to men and women only two years ago, has, by her consummate tact and her indefatigable efforts, become common property for them There cannot be the slightest doubt that her name will take the first rank in history among those who inspired us with the hope that Swaraj was attainable at no distant date Swaraj was, and is, the goal of the Congress The idea did not originate with her But the credit of presenting it to us as an easily attainable goal belongs to that lady alone. For that we could hardly thank her enough By releasing

her and her associates, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, Government have laid us under an obligation, and at the same time acknowledged the just and reasonable nature of the agitation for Swaraj. It is desirable that Government should extend the same generosity towards our brothers, Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. It is no use discussing the appositeness or otherwise of what Sir William Vincent has said about them. It is to be hoped that the Government will accede to the people's desire for their release and thus make them responsible for any improper result that might flow from their release. Such clemency will make them all the more grateful to the Government. The act of generosity will be incomplete so long as these brothers are not released. The grant of freedom to the brothers will gladden the people's hearts and endear the Government to them.

Mr. Montagu will shortly be in our midst. The work of taking signatures to the petition to be submitted to him is going on apace. The chief object of this petition is to educate the people about Swaraj. To say that a knowledge of letters is essential to obtain Swaraj betrays ignorance of history. A knowledge of letters is not necessary to inculcate among people the idea that we ought to manage our own affairs. What is essential is the grasp of such an idea. People have to desire Swaraj. Hundreds of unlettered kings have ruled kingdoms in an effective manner. To see how far such an idea exists in the minds of the people and to try to create it where it is absent, is the object of this petition. It is desirable that millions of men and women should sign it intelligently. That such a largely signed petition will have its due weight with Mr. Montagu is its natural result.

No one has the right to alter the scheme of reforms approved by the Congress and the Moslem League, and one need not, therefore, go into the merits thereof. For our present purposes we have to understand thoroughly the scheme formulated most thoughtfully by our leaders and to faithfully do the things necessary to get it accepted and enforced.

*This scheme is not Swaraj, but is a great step towards Swaraj.* Some English critics tell us that we have no right to enjoy Swaraj, because the class that demands it is incapable of defending India. "Is the defence of India to rest with the English alone," they ask, "and are the reins of Government to be in the hands of the Indians?" Now this is a question which excites both laughter and sorrow. It is laughable, because our English friends fancy that they are not of us, whilst our plan of Swaraj is based upon retention of the British connection. We do not expect the English settlers to leave this country. They will be our partners in Swaraj. And they need not grumble if in such a scheme the burden of the defence of the country falls on them. They are, however, hasty in assuming that we shall not do our share of defending the country. When India decides upon qualifying herself for the act of soldiering, she will attain to it in no time. We have but to harden our feelings to be able to strike. To cultivate a hardened feeling does not take ages. It grows like weeds. The question has also its tragic side, because it puts us in mind of the fact that Government have up to now debarred us from military training. Had they been so minded they would have had at their disposal to day, from among the educated classes, an army of trained soldiers. Government have to accept a larger measure of blame than the

educated classes for the latter having taken little part in the war. Had the Government policy been shaped differently from the very commencement, they would have to day an unconquerable army. But let no one be blamed for the present situation. At the time British rule was established, it was considered to be a wise policy for the governance of crores of men to deprive them of arms and military training. But it is never too late to mend, and both the rulers and the ruled must immediately repair the omission.

In offering these views I have assumed the propriety of the current trend of thought. To me, however, it does not appear to be tending altogether in the right direction. Our agitation is based on the Western model. The Swaraj we desire is of a Western type. As a result of it, India will have to enter into competition with the Western nations. Many believe that there is no escape from it. I do not think so. I cannot forget that India is not Europe, India is not Japan, India is not China. The divine word that 'India alone is the land of Karma (Action), the rest is the land of Bhoga (Enjoyment),' is indelibly imprinted on my mind. I feel that India's mission is different from that of the others. India is fitted for the religious supremacy of the world. There is no parallel in the world for the process of purification that this country has voluntarily undergone. India is less in need of steel weapons, it has fought with divine weapons, it can still do so. Other nations have been votaries of brute force. The terrible war going on in Europe furnishes a forcible illustration of the truth. India can win all by soul-force. History supplies numerous instances to prove that brute force is as nothing before soul force. Poets have sung about it and Seers

have described their experiences. A thirty-year old Hercules behaves like a lamb before his eighty-year old father. This is an instance of love force. Love is Atman, it is its attribute. If we have faith enough we can wield that force over the whole world. Religion having lost its hold on us, we are without an anchor to keep us firm amidst the storm of modern civilisation, and are therefore being tossed to and fro. Enough, however, of this for the present. I shall return to it at a later stage.

In spite of my views being as I have just described them, I do not hesitate to take part in the Swaraj movement, for India is being governed in accordance with the Western system and even the Government admit that the British Parliament presents the best type of that system. Without parliamentary government, we should be no where. Mrs Besant is only too true when she says that we shall soon be facing a hunger strike, if we do not have Home Rule. I do not want to go into statistics. The evidence of my eyes is enough for me. Poverty in India is deepening day by day. No other result is possible. A country that exports its raw produce and imports it after it has undergone manufacturing processes, a country that in spite of growing its own cotton, has to pay crores of rupees for its imported cloth, cannot be otherwise than poor. It can only be said of a poor country that its people are spendthrifts, because they ungrudgingly spend money in marriage and such other ceremonies. It must be a terribly poor country that cannot afford to spend enough in carrying out improvements for stamping out epidemics like the plague. The poverty of a country must continuously grow when the salaries of its highly paid officials are spent outside it. Surely it must be India's

keen poverty that compels its people, during cold weather, for want of woollen clothing, to burn their precious manure, in order to warm themselves. Throughout my wanderings in India I have rarely seen a buoyant face. The middle classes are groaning under the weight of awful distress. For the lowest order there is no hope. They do not know a bright day. It is a pure fiction to say that India's riches are buried underground, or are to be found in her ornaments. What there is of such riches is of no consequence. The nation's expenditure has increased, not so its income. Government have not deliberately brought about this state of things. I believe that their intentions are pure. It is then honest opinion that the nation's prosperity is daily growing. Their faith in their Blue Books is immovable. It is only too true that statistics can be made to prove anything. The economists deduce India's prosperity from statistics. People like me who appreciate the popular way of examining figures shake their heads over bluebook statistics. If the gods were to come down and testify otherwise, I would insist on saying that I see India growing poorer.

What then would our Parliament do? When we have it, we would have a right to commit blunders, and to correct them. In the early stages we are bound to make blunders. But we being children of the soil, won't lose time in setting ourselves right. We shall, therefore, soon find out remedies against poverty. Then our existence won't be dependent on Lancashire goods. Then we shall not be found spending untold riches on Imperial Delhi. It will, then, bear some correspondence to the peasant cottage. There will be some proportion observed between that cottage and our Parliament House. *The*

*nation today is in a 'helpless' condition, it does not possess even the right to err. He who has no right to err can never go forward. The history of the Commons is a history of blunders. Man, says an Arabian proverb, is error personified. Freedom to err and the duty of correcting errors is one definition of Swaraj. And such Swaraj lies in Parliament. That Parliament we need to-day. We are fitted for it to-day. We shall therefore get it on demand. It rests with us to define 'to-day' Swaraj is not to be attained through an appeal to the British democracy. The English nation cannot appreciate such an appeal. Its reply will be — 'We never sought outside help to obtain Swaraj. We have received it through our own ability. You have not received it, because you are unfit. When you are fit for it, nobody can withhold it from you.' How then shall we fit ourselves for it? We have to demand Swaraj from our own democracy. Our appeal must be to it. When the peasantry of India understand what Swaraj is, the demand will become irresistible. The late Sir W W Hunter used*

In asking for Swaraj I feel that it is not possible for us to bring into account their services. The only thing we can say is that we may not be considered blameworthy for our inability to take a large active part in the prosecution of the war.

That we have been loyal at a time of stress is no test of fitness for Swaraj. Loyalty is no merit. It is a necessity of citizenship all the world over. That loyalty can be no passport to Swaraj is a self-demonstrated maxim. Our fitness lies in that we now keenly desire Swaraj, and in the conviction we have reached that bureaucracy, although it has served India with pure intentions, has had its day. And this kind of fitness is sufficient for our purpose. Without Swaraj there is now no possibility of peace in India.

But if we confine our activities for advancing Swaraj only to holding meetings, the nation is likely to suffer harm. Meetings and speeches have their own place and time. *But they cannot make a Nation.*

In a nation fired with Swaraj-zeal we shall observe an awakening in all departments of life. The first step to Swaraj lies in the Individual. The great truth, 'As with the Individual so with the Universe,' is applicable here as elsewhere. If we are ever torn by conflict from within, if we are ever going astray, and if instead of ruling our passions we allow them to rule us, Swaraj can have no meaning for us. Government of self, then, is primary education in the school of Swaraj.

Then the Family. If dissensions reign supreme in our families, if brothers fight among themselves, if joint families, i.e. families enjoying self-government, become divided through family quarrels, and if we are unfit even

for such restricted Swaraj, how can we be considered fit for the larger Swaraj ?

Now for the Caste If caste fellows become jealous of one another, if the castes cannot regulate their affairs in an orderly manner, if the elders want to usurp power, if the members become self opinionated and thus show their unfitness for tribal self-government, how can they be fit for national self-government ?

After caste the City Life If we cannot regulate the affairs of our cities, if our streets are not kept clean, if our homes are dilapidated and if our roads are crooked, if we cannot command the services of selfless citizens for civic government, and those who are in charge of affairs are neglectful or selfish, how shall we claim larger powers ? The way to national life lies through the cities It is, therefore, necessary to linger a little longer on civic government

The plague has found a home in India Cholera has been always with us Malaria takes an annual toll of thousands The plague has been driven out from every other part of the world. Glasgow drove it out as soon as it entered it In Johannesburg it could appear but once Its municipality made a great effort and stamped it out within a month, whereas we are able to produce little impression upon it We cannot blame the Government for this state of things In reality we cannot make our poverty answerable for it None can interfere with us in the prosecution of any remedies that we might wish to adopt Ahmedabad, for instance, cannot evade responsibility by pleading poverty I fear that in respect of the plague we must shoulder the whole responsibility It is a matter of wonderment that when the plague is working havoc in

our rural quarters, cantonments, as a rule, remain free. Reasons for such immunity are obvious. In the cantonments the atmosphere is pure, houses detached, roads are wide and clean, the sanitary habits of the residents are exceptionally sound. Whereas ours are as unhygienic as they well could be. Our closets are pestilentially dirty. 90 per cent of our population go barefoot, people spit anywhere, perform natural functions anywhere and are obliged to walk along roads and paths thus dirtied. It is no wonder that the plague has found a home in our midst.

Unless we alter the conditions of our cities, rid ourselves of dirty habits, and re form our castes, Swaraj for us can have no value.

It will not be considered out of place here to refer to the condition of the so called untouchables. The result of considering the most useful members of society as unworthy of being even touched by us, has been that we let them clean only a part of our closets. In the name of religion we ourselves would not clean the remainder, for fear of pollution, and so in spite of personal cleanliness, a portion of our houses, remains the dirtiest in the world, with the result that we are brought up in an atmosphere which is laden with disease germs. We were safe so long as we kept to our villages. But in the cities we ever commit suicide by reason of our insanitary habits.

Where many die before their death there is every probability that people are devoid of both religion and its practice. I believe that it ought not to be beyond us to banish the plague from India, and if we could do so, we shall have increased our fitness for Swaraj, as it could not

be by agitation, no matter howsoever great. This is a question meriting the serious consideration of our Doctors and Vaidyas.

Our sacred Dakorji is our next door neighbour. I have visited that holy place. Its unholiness is limitless. I consider myself a devout Vaisnavite. I claim, therefore, a special privilege of criticising the condition of Dakorji. The insanitation of that place is so great, that one used to hygienic conditions can hardly bear to pass even twenty-four hours there. The pilgrims are permitted to pollute the tank and the streets as they choose. The keepers of the idol quarrel among themselves, and to add insult to injury, a receiver has been appointed to take charge of the jewellery and costly robes of the idol. It is our clear duty to set this wrong right. How shall we, Gujaratis, bent on attaining Swaraj, discharge ourselves in its army, if we cannot sweep our houses clean?

The consideration of the state of education in our cities also fills us with despondency. It is up to us to provide by private effort for the education of the masses. But our gaze is fixed upon Government, whilst our children are starving for want of education.

In the cities the drink evil is on the increase. tea-shops are multiplying, gambling is rampant. If we cannot remedy these evils, how should we attain Swaraj whose meaning is government of ourselves?

We have reached a time when we and our children are likely to be deprived of our milk supply. Dairies in Gujarat are doing us infinite harm. They buy out practically the whole milk-supply and sell its products, butter, cheese etc., in a wider market. How can a nation

whose nourishment is chiefly derived from milk allow this important article of food to be "thus exploited" How can men be heedless of the national health, and think of enriching themselves, by such an improper use of this article of diet? Milk and its products are of such paramount value to the nation that they deserve to be controlled by the municipalities. What are we doing about them?

I have just returned from the scene of Bākri-Id riots. For an insignificant cause, the two communities quarrelled, mischievous men took advantage of it and a mere spark became a blaze. We were found to be helpless. We have been obliged to depend only upon Government assistance. This is a significant illustration of the condition I am trying to describe.

It will not be inopportune to dwell for a moment on the question of cow-protection. It is an important question. And yet it is entrusted to the so-called cow-protection societies. The protection of cows is an old custom. It has originated in the necessity of the condition of the country. Protection of its cows is incumbent upon a country, 73 per cent of whose population lives upon agriculture, and uses only bullocks for it. In such a country even meat-eaters should abstain from beef-eating. These natural causes should be enough justification for not killing cows. But here we have to face a peculiar situation. The chief meaning of cow-protection seems to be to prevent cows from going into the hands of our Mussalman brethren, and being used as food. The governing class seem to need beef. In their behalf thousands of cows are slaughtered daily. We take no steps to prevent the slaughter. We hardly make any attempt to prevent the

cruel torture of cows by certain Hindu dairies of Calcutta which subject them to certain indescribable practices and make them yield the last drop of milk. In Gujarat Hindu drivers use spiked sticks to goad bullocks into action. We say nothing about it. The bullocks of our cities are to be seen in a pitiable condition. Indeed, protection of the cow and her progeny is a very great problem. With us it has degenerated into a pretext for quarrelling with the Mahomedans, and we have thus contributed to a further slaughter of cows. It is not religion, but want of it, to kill a Mahomedan brother who declines to part with his cow. I feel sure that if we were to negotiate with our Mussalman brothers upon a basis of love, they will appreciate the peculiar condition of India and readily co-operate with us in the protection of cows. By courtesy and even by Satyagraha we can engage them in that mission. But in order to be able to do this, we shall have to understand the question in its true bearing. We shall have to prepare rather to die than to kill. But we shall be able to do this only when we understand the real value of the cow and have pure love for her. Many ends will be automatically served in achieving this one end. Hindus and Mahomedans will live in peace, milk and its products will be available in a pure condition and will be cheaper than now, and our bullocks will become the envy of the world. By real *tapasya* it is possible for us to stop cow slaughter whether by the English, Mahomedans or Hindus. This one act will bring Swaraj many a step nearer.

Many of the foregoing problems belong to municipal government. We can, therefore, clearly see that *national government is dependant upon purity of the government of our cities*.

It will not be considered an improper statement to say that the Swadeshi movement is in an insane condition. We do not realise that Swaraj is almost wholly obtainable through Swadeshi. If we have no regard for our respective vernaculars, if we dislike our clothes, if our dress repels us, if we are ashamed to wear the sacred *Shikha*, if our food is distasteful to us, our climate is not good enough, our people uncouth and unfit for our company, our civilisation faulty and the foreign attractive, in short, if everything native is bad and everything foreign pleasing to us, I should not know what Swaraj can mean for us. If everything foreign is to be adopted, surely it will be necessary for us to continue long under foreign tutelage, because foreign civilisation has not yet permeated the masses. It seems to me that before we can appreciate Swaraj, we should have not only love, but passion, for Swadeshi. Every one of our acts should bear the Swadeshi stamp. Swaraj can only be built upon the assumption that most of what is national is on the whole sound. If the view here put forth be correct, the Swadeshi movement ought to be carried on vigorously. Every country that has carried on the Swaraj movement has fully appreciated the Swadeshi spirit. The Scotch Highlanders hold on to their kilts even at the risk of their lives. We humorously call the Highlanders the 'petticoat brigade'. But the whole world testifies to the strength that lies behind that petticoat and the Highlanders of Scotland will not abandon it, even though it is an inconvenient dress, and an easy target for the enemy. The object in developing the foregoing argument is not that we should treasure our faults, but that what is national, even though comparatively less agreeable, should be adhered to, and

that what is foreign should be avoided, though it may be more agreeable than our own. That which is wanting in our civilisation can be supplied by proper effort on our part. I do hope that the Swadeshi spirit will possess every member in this assembly, and that we would carry out the Swadeshi vow in spite of great difficulties and inconvenience. Then Swaraj will be easy of attainment.

The foregoing illustrations go to show that our movement should be twofold. We may petition the Government, we may agitate in the Imperial Council for our rights, but for a real awakening of the people, internal activity is more important. There is likelihood of hypocrisy and selfishness tainting external activity. There is less danger of such a catastrophe in the internal activity. Not only will external activity without being balanced by the internal lack grace, but it is likely to be barren of results. It is not my contention that we have no internal activity at all, but I submit that we do not lay enough stress upon it.

One sometimes hears it said, 'Let us get the government of India in our own hands, and every thing will be alright.' There could be no greater superstition than this. No nation has thus gained its independence. The splendour of the spring is reflected in every tree, the whole earth is then filled with the freshness of youth. Similarly when the Swaraj spirit has really permeated society, a stranger suddenly come upon us will observe energy in every walk of life, he will find national servants engaged, each according to his own abilities, in a variety of public activities.

If we admit that our progress has not been what it might have been, we shall have to admit two reasons for

it. We have kept our women strangers to these activities of ours, and have thus brought about paralysis of half the national limb. The nation walks with one leg only. All its work appears to be only half or incompletely done. Moreover, the learned section, having received its education through a foreign tongue, has become enervated and it is unable to give the nation the benefit of such ability as it possesses. I need not reiterate my views on this subject, as I have elaborated them in my address delivered before the Gujarat Education Conference. It is a wise decision, that of conducting the proceedings of this Conference in Gujarati, and I hope that all Gujaratis will adhere to the determination and resist every temptation to alter it.

The educated classes, lovers of Swaraj, must freely mix with the masses. We dare not reject a single member of the community. We shall make progress only if we carry all with us. Had the educated class identified itself with the masses Bakri—Id riots would have been an impossibility.

Before coming to the last topic, it remains for me to refer to certain events as a matter of duty, and to make one or two suggestions. Every year the god of death exacts his toll from among our leaders. I do not intend to mention all such occasions of sorrow. But it is impossible to omit reference to the Grand Old Man of India. Who am I to estimate the value of the service rendered to the country by the deceased patriot? I have only sat at his feet. I paid my respects to him when I went to London as a mere lad. I was privileged to carry with me a note of introduction to him, and from the moment of presentation I became his worshipper. Dadabhai's flawless and uninterrupted service to the

country, his impartiality, his spotless character, will always furnish India with an ideal servant of his country. May God give him peace! May He grant his family and the Nation the ability to bear the loss! It is possible for us to immortalise him, by making his character our own, by copying his manner of service and by enthroning him for ever in our hearts. May the great soul of Dadabhai watch over our deliberations!

It is our duty to express our thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for having announced the decision of the Government of India to abolish what is known as the Viramgam customs. This step should have been taken earlier. The nation was groaning under the weight of this impost. Many have lost their calling by reason of it. It has caused much suffering to many a woman. The decision has not yet been reduced to practice. It is to be hoped that it will soon be.

I have submitted through the Press my experiences about the hardships of third class railway travellers. They are, indeed, intolerable. The people of India are docile they have received training in silent suffering. Thousands, therefore, put up with the hardships and they remain unredressed. There is merit in such suffering. But it must have its limits. Submission out of weakness is unmanliness. That we tamely put up with the hardships of railway travelling is probably proof of our unmanliness. These hardships are twofold. They are due to the remissness of railway administration as also that of the travelling public. The remedies are also, therefore, twofold. Where the railway administration is to blame, complaints should be addressed to it, even in Gujarat. The matter should be ventilated in the press. Where

the public are to blame, the knowing travellers should enlighten their ignorant companions, as to their carelessness and dirty habits. Volunteers are required for this purpose. Every one can do his share, according to his ability, and the leading men might, in order to appreciate the difficulties of third class travelling, resort to it from time to time, without making themselves known, and bring their experiences to the notice of the administration. If these remedies are adopted, we should, in a short time, see great changes.

An inter-departmental committee recently sat in London to consider certain measures about the supply of indentured labour to Fiji and the other sister islands. The Report of that committee has been published and the Government of India have invited the opinion of the public upon it. I need not dwell at length upon the matter as I have submitted my views already through the press. I have given it as my opinion that the recommendations of the committee, if adopted, will result in a kind of indenture. We can therefore only come to one conclusion. We can have no desire to see our labouring classes emigrating under bondage in any shape or form. There is no need for such 'emigration. The law of indenture should be totally abolished. It is no part of our duty to provide facilities for the Colonies.

I now reach the concluding topic. There are two methods of attaining the desired end: Truthful and Truthless. In our scriptures they have been described respectively as Divine and Devilish. In the path of Satyagraha there is always unflinching adherence to Truth. It is never to be forsaken on any account, not even for the sake of one's country. The final

triumph of Truth is always assumed for the Divine method. Its votary does not abandon it, even though at times the path seems impenetrable and beset with difficulties and dangers, and a departure however slight from that straight path may appear full of promise. His faith even then shines resplendent like the midday sun and he does not despond. With truth for sword, he needs neither steel nor gunpowder. He conquers the enemy by the force of the soul, which is Love. Its test is not to be found among friends. There is neither newness, nor merit, nor yet effort in a friend loving a friend. It is tested truly when it is bestowed on the so called enemy, it then becomes a virtue, there is effort in it, it is an act of manliness and real bravery. We can adopt this method towards the Government and doing so, we should be in a position to appreciate their beneficial activities and with greater ease correct their errors because we should draw attention to them not in anger but in Love. Love does not act through fear. There can therefore, be no weakness in its expression. A coward is incapable of exhibiting Love, it is the prerogative of the brave. Following this method we shall not look upon all Governmental activity with suspicion, we shall not ascribe bad motives to them. And our examination of their actions, being directly by Love, will be unerring and is bound therefore to carry conviction with them.

Love has its struggles. In the intoxication of power man often fails to detect his mistakes. When that happens a Passive Resister does not sit still. He suffers. He disobeys the ruler's laws and orders in a civil manner, and willingly incurs hardships caused by such disobedience, [e.g. imprisonment and gallows]. Thus is the soul disciplined. Here there is no waste of

energy, and any untoward results of such respectful disobedience are suffered merely by him and his companions. A Passive Resister is not at sixes and sevens with those in power but the latter willingly yield to him. *They know that they cannot effectively exercise force against the Passive Resister. Without his concurrence they cannot make him do their will. And this is the full fruition of Swaraj, because in it is complete independence.* It need not be taken for granted that such decorous resistance is possible only in respect of civilised rulers. Even a heart of flint will melt in front of a fire kindled by the power of the soul. Even a Nero becomes a lamb when he faces Love. This is no exaggeration. It is as true as an algebraical equation. This Satyagraha is India's special weapon. It has had others, but Satyagraha has commanded greater attention. It is omnipresent, and is capable of being used at all times and under all circumstances. It does not require a Congress license. He who knows its power cannot help using it. Even as the eyelashes automatically protect the eyes, so does Satyagraha when kindled automatically protect the Freedom of the Soul.

But truthlessness has opposite attributes. The terrible war going on in Europe is a case in point. Why should a nation's cause be considered right and another's wrong because it overpowers the latter by sheer brute force? The strong are often seen preying upon the weak. The wrongness of the latter's cause is not to be inferred from their defeat in a trial of brute strength, nor is the rightness of the strong to be inferred from their success in such a trial. The wielder of brute force does not scruple about the means to be used. He does not question the propriety of means, if he can somehow

achieve his purpose. This is not Dharma, it is Adharma. In Dharma, there cannot be a particle of untruth, cruelty or the taking of life. The measure of Dharma is the measure of love, kindness, truth. Heaven itself is no acceptable exchange for them. Swaraj itself is useless at the sacrifice of Truth. Sacrifice of Truth is the foundation of a nation's destruction. The believer in brute force becomes impatient and desires the death of the so called enemy. There can be but one result of such an activity. Hatred increases. The defeated party vows vengeance, and simply bides his time. Thus does the spirit of revenge descend from father to son. It is much to be wished that India may not give predominance to the worship of brute force. If the members of this assembly will deliberately accept Satyagraha in laying down its own programme they will reach their goal all the easier for it. They may have to face disappointment in the initial stages. They may not see results for a time. But Satyagraha will triumph in the end. The brute force man like the oilman's ox moves in a circle. It is a motion, but it is not progress. Whereas the votary of Truth force ever moves forward.

A superficial critic reading the foregoing is likely to conclude that the views herein expressed are mutually destructive. On the one hand I appeal to the Government to give military training to the people. On the other I put Satyagraha on the pedestal. Surely there can be no room for the use of arms in Satyagraha, nor is there any. But military training is intended for those who do not believe in Satyagraha. That the whole of India will ever accept Satyagraha is beyond my imagination. Not to defend the weak is an entirely effeminate idea, everywhere to be rejected. In order to protect our

innocent sister from the brutal designs of a man we ought to offer ourselves a willing sacrifice and by the force of Love conquer the brute in the man. But if we have not attained that power, we would certainly use up all our bodily strength in order to frustrate those designs. The votaries of soul-force and brute-force are both soldiers. The latter, bereft of his arms, acknowledges defeat, the former does not know what defeat is. He does not depend upon the perishable body and its weapons, but he derives his strength from the unconquerable and immortal soul. The thing outside the two is not a man, for he does not recognise the Dweller within him. If he did, he would not take fright and run away from danger. Like a miser trying to save his flesh, he loses all, he does not know how to die. But the armoured soldier always has death by him as a companion. There is hope of his becoming a Passive Resister, and one has a right to hope that India, the holy land of the gods, will ever give the predominant place to the divine force, rather than to the brute force. Might is right, is a formula which, let us hope, will never find acceptance in India. Her formula is, Truth alone conquers.

Upon reflection, we find that we can employ Satyagraha even for social reform. We can rid ourselves of many defects in our social institutions. We can settle the Hindu-Mohammedan problem, and we can deal with political questions. It is well that for the sake of facilitating progress we divide our activities according to the subjects handled. But it should never be forgotten that all are inter-related. It is not true to say that neither religion nor social reform has anything to do with politics. The result obtained by bringing religion into play in the consideration of

political subjects will be different from that obtained without it. The Hindus can ill afford to neglect 56 lacs of ignorant Sadhus in considering political matters. Our Mussalman brethren cannot lose sight of their Fakeers. In advancing political progress, the condition of our widows and child marriages must have their proper place, and the purdah must tax Mussalman wit. Nor can we, Hindus and Muhammadans, in considering politics shut our eyes to scores of questions that arise between us.

Indeed our difficulties are like the Himalayas. But we have equally powerful means at our disposal for removing them. We are children of an ancient nation. We have witnessed the burial of civilizations, those of Rome, Greece, and Egypt. Our civilization abides even as the ocean in spite of its ebbs and flows. We have all we need to keep ourselves independent. We have the mountains that kiss the sky, we have the mighty rivers. We have the matchless beauties of nature, and we have handed down to us a heritage of deeds of valour. This country is the treasure house of *tapasya*. In this country alone do people belonging to different religions live together in amity. In this country alone do all the gods receive their due measure of worship. We shall disgrace our heritage, and our connection with the British nation will be vain, if in spite of such splendid equipment, by some unique effort, we do not conquer our conquerors. The English nation is full of adventure, the religious spirit guides it, it has unquenchable faith in itself, it is a nation of great soldiers, it treasures its independence, but it has given the place of honour to its commercial instinct. It has not always narrowly examined the means adopted

for seeking wealth. It worships modern civilisation. The ancient ideals have lost their hold upon it. If, therefore, instead of imitating that nation we do not forget our past, we have real regard for our civilisation, we have firm faith in its supremacy, we shall be able to make a proper use of our connection with the British nation, and make it beneficial to ourselves, to them and to the whole world. I pray to the Almighty that this assembly taking its full share of this great work may shed lustre upon itself, upon Gujarat, and upon the whole of Bharatavarsha.

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### SOCIAL SERVICE

*At the anniversary celebration of the Social Service League held in Madras on February 10 1916, Mr Gandhi delivered an address on " Social Service " Mrs Whitehead presided. He said -*

After all a man can do his best and can leave the results to work themselves out. I have been asked this evening to speak to you about social service. If this evening you find that I am not able to do sufficient justice to this great audience you will ascribe it to so many engagements that I hastily and upthunkingly accepted. It was my desire that I should have at least a few moments to think out what I shall have to say to you but it was not to be. However, as our Chair Lady has said, it was work we want and not speeches. I am aware that you will have lost very little, if anything at all, if you find at the end of this evening talk that you have listened very little.

Friends, for Social Service as for any other service on the face of the earth there is one condition indispensable namely, qualifications, and proper qualifications, on the

part of those who want to render social service or any other service. So I shall ask ourselves this evening whether those of us who are already engaged in this kind of service and others who have aspired to render the service possess these necessary qualifications. Because you will agree with me that in social service if they can mend matters they can also spoil matters and in trying to do service however well-intentioned that service might be if they are not qualified for that service they will be rendering not service but disservice. What are these qualifications?

I imagine why I must repeat to you almost the qualifications that I described this morning to the students in the Young Mens' Christian Association Hall. Because they are of universal application and they are necessary for any class of work, much more so in social service at this time of the day in our national life in our dear country. It seems to me that we require truth in one hand and fearlessness in the other hand. Unless we carry the torchlight we shall not see the step in front of us and unless we carry the quality of fearlessness we shall not be able to give the message that we might want to give. Unless we have this fearlessness I feel sure that when that supreme final test comes we shall be found wanting. Then I ask you to ask yourselves whether those of you who are engaged in this service and those of you who want hereafter to engage in this service have these two qualities. Let me remind you also that these qualities may be trained in us in a manner detrimental to ourselves and in a manner detrimental to those with whom we may come in contact. This is a dangerous statement almost to make as if truth could be ever so handled, and in

making that statement I would like you also to consider that truth comes not as truth but only as truth so called. In the inimitable book *Ramayana* we find that Indrajit and Lakshman, his opponent, possessed the same qualities. But Lakshman's life was guided by principle, based upon religion while Indrajit's principle was based upon irreligion, and we find what Indrajit possessed was mere dross and what Lakshman possessed was of great assistance not only to the side on whose behalf he was fighting but he has left a treasure for us to value. What was that additional quality he possessed? So, I hold that life without religion, religion is life without principle, that life without principle is like a ship without a rudder. Just as our ship without rudder, the helmsman plying at it, is tossed about from place to place and never reaches its destination, so will a man without the heart grasp of religion whirl without ever reaching his destined goal. So, I suggest to every social servant that he must not run away with the idea that he will serve his whole countrymen unless he has got these two qualities duly sanctified by religion and by a life divinely guided.

After paying a glowing tribute to the Madras Social Service League for its work in certain Paraya villages in the city he went on to say —

It is no use white-washing those needs which we know everyday stare us in the face. It is not enough that we clear out the villages which are occupied by our Paraya brethren. They are amenable to reason and persuasion. Shall we have to say that the so called higher classes are not equally amenable to reason and to persuasion and to hygienic laws which are indispensable in order to live a city-life. We may do many things with immunity but

when we immediately transfer ourselves to crowded streets where we have hardly air to breathe, the life becomes changed, and we have to obey another set of laws which immediately come into being. Do we do that? It is no use saddling the municipality with the responsibilities for the condition in which we find not only the central parts of Madras but the central parts of every city of importance in India, and I feel no municipality in the world will be able to override the habits of a class of people handed to them from generation to generation. It can be done only by such bodies as Social Service Leagues. If we pulsate with a new life, a new vision shall open before us in the near future, I think that these are the signs which will be an indication to show that we are pulsating with a new life, which is going to be a proper life, which will add dignity to our nationality and which will carry the banner of progress forward. I, therefore, suggest that it is a question of sanitary reform in these big cities, which will be a hopeless task if we expect our municipalities to do this unaided by this voluntary work. Far be it from me to absolve the municipalities from their own responsibilities. I think there is a great deal yet to be done in the municipalities. Only the other day I read with a great degree of pain a report about the proceedings of the Bombay Municipality and the deplorable fact in it is that a large part of the time of the Municipality was devoted to talking over trifles while they neglected matters of great moment. After all, I shall say that they will be able to do very little in as much as there is a demand for their work on the people themselves.

Here Mr Gandhi instanced two cases where the Social Service League had been of immense help to the

Municipality in improving the sanitary condition of the town, by changing the habits of the people, which had become a part of them being. He observed that some officials might consider that they could force an unwilling people to do many things, but he held to that celebrated saying that it was far better that people should often remain drunkards than that they should become sober at the point of the sword.

Mr Gandhi then recounted some of his experiences in a temple at Kasi (Benares)—the wretched lanes surrounding it, the dirt to be witnessed near the sanctuary, the disorderly crowd and the avaricious priest. These evils in the temples, he said, had to be removed by Social Service Leagues. For making it possible for students to fight these conditions, the educational system had to be revolutionised. Now-a-days they were going out of their schools as utter strangers to their ancestral traditions and with fatigued brains, able to work no longer. They had to revolutionise that system.

Finally, he referred to the railway services and the conditions under which third class passengers travelled. To do social service among the passengers and instil better habits of sanitation among them, the social servants must not go to them in a foreign costume, speaking a foreign tongue. They might issue pamphlets to them or give instructive lessons, and so so on.

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## THE BENARES INCIDENT

*The following communication was made to the Press by Mr M K Gandhi, describing the circumstances under which his speech at the opening ceremony of the Hindū University, Benares, was interrupted. The portion of the speech that was delivered is printed on page 214*

Mrs Besant's reference in *New India* and certain other references to the Benares incident perhaps render it necessary for me to return to the subject, however disinclined I may be to do so. Mrs Besant denies my statement with reference to her whispering to the Princes. I can only say that if I can trust my eyes and my ears, I must adhere to the statement I have made. She occupied a seat on the left of the semi-circle on either side of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who occupied the chair, and there was at least one Prince, perhaps there were two, who were sitting on her side. Whilst I was speaking Mrs Besant was almost behind me. When the Maharaja rose Mrs Besant had also risen. I had ceased speaking before the Rajahs actually left the platform. I gently suggested to her that she might have refrained from interrupting, but that, if she disapproved of the speech after it was finished, she could have then dissociated herself from my sentiments. But she, with some degree of warmth, said, 'How could we sit still when you were compromising every one of us on the platform? You ought not to have made the remarks you did.' This answer of Mrs Besant's does not quite tally with her solicitude for me, which alone, according to her version of the incident, promoted her to interrupt the speech. I suggest that if she merely meant to protect me she could have passed

a note round or whispered into my ears her advice. And, again, if it was for my protection, why was it necessary for her to rise with the Princes and to leave the hall as I held she did along with them?

So far as my remarks are concerned I am yet unable to know what it was in my speech that seems to her to be open to such exception as to warrant her interruption. After referring to the Viceregal visit and the necessary precautions that were taken for the Viceroy's safety I showed that an assassin's death was anything but an honourable death, and said that anarchism was opposed to our Sastras and had no room in India. I said then where there was honourable death it would go down to history as men who died for their conviction. But when a bomb thrower died, secretly plotting all sorts of things, what could he gain? I then went on to state and deal with the fallacy that, had not bomb throwers thrown bombs, we should never have gained what we did with reference to the Partition movement. It was at about this stage that Mrs Besant appealed to the chair to stop me. Personally, I will desire a publication of the whole of my speech whose trend was a sufficient warrant for showing that I could not possibly incite the students to deeds of violence. Indeed it was conceived in order to carry on a rigorous self examination.

I began by saying that it was a humiliation for the audience and myself that I should have to speak in English. I said that English having been the medium of instruction it had done a tremendous injury to the country, and I conceive I showed successfully that, had we received training during the past 50 years in

higher thought in our own vernaculars, we would be to-day within reach of our goal. I then referred to the self-government Resolution passed at the Congress and showed that whilst the All-India Congress Committee and the All-India Moslem League would be drawing up their paper about the future constitution their duty was to fit themselves by their own action for self-government. And in order to show how short we fell of our duty I drew attention to the dirty condition of the labyrinth of lanes surrounding the great temple of Kasi-Viswanath and the recently erected palatial buildings without any conception as to the straightness or the width of the streets. I then took the audience to the gorgeous scene that was enacted on the dais of laying of the foundation and suggested that if a stranger not knowing anything about Indian life had visited the scene he would have gone away under the false impression that India was one of the richest countries in the world, such was the display of jewellery worn by our noblemen. And turning to the Maharajahs and the Rajahs I humorously suggested that it was necessary for them to hold those treasures in trust for the nation before we could realise our ideals, and I cited the action of the Japanese noblemen who considered it a glorious privilege, even though there was no necessity for them, to dispossess themselves of treasures and land which were handed to them from generation to generation. I then asked the audience to consider the humiliating spectacle of the Viceroy's person having to be protected from ourselves when he was our honoured guest. And I was endeavouring to show that the blame for these precautions was all on ourselves in that they were rendered necessary because of the introduction of organised assassination in

India Thus I was endeavouring to show on the one hand how the students could usefully occupy themselves in assisting to rid society of its proved defects, on the other, to wean themselves even in thought from methods of violence

I claim that with 20 years' experience of public life in the course of which I have to address on scores of occasions turbulent audiences I have some experience of feeling the pulse of my audience I was following closely how the speech was being taken, and I certainly did not notice that the student world was being adversely affected Indeed some of them came to me the following morning and told me that they perfectly understood my remarks, which had gone home One of them, a keen debater, even subjected me to cross-examination and seemed to feel convinced by a further development of the argument such as I had advanced in the course of my speech Indeed I have spoken now to thousands of students and others of my countrymen throughout South Africa, England and India and by precisely the arguments that I used that evening I claim to have weaned many from their approval of anarchical methods

Finally, I observe that Mr S D Setlur, of Bombay, who has written on the incident to *Hindu* in no friendly mood towards me and who, I think, in some respects totally and unfairly has endeavoured to tear me to pieces and who was an eye witness to the proceedings gives a version different from Mrs Besant's He thinks that the general impression was not that I was encouraging the anarchists but I was playing the role of an apologist for the civilian bureaucrat The whole of Mr Setlur's

attack upon me shows that if he is right I was certainly not guilty of any incitement to violence and that offence consisted in my reference to jewellery, etc

In order that the fullest justice might be done both to Mrs Besant and myself I would make the following suggestion She says that she does not propose to defend herself by quoting the sentence which drew the Princes away and that would be playing into the enemies' hand According to her previous statement my speech is already in the hands of detectives, so that so far as my safety is concerned, her forbearance is not going to be of the slightest use Would it not therefore be better that she should either publish a verbatim report, if she has it, or reproduce such sentiments in my speech as, in her opinion, necessitated her interruption and the Princes's withdrawal

I will therefore conclude this statement by repeating what I have said before, that but for Mrs Besant's interruption I would have concluded my speech in a few minutes and no possible misconception about my views on anarchism would have risen

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# MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

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## I THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF SATYAGRAHASRAMA \*

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### OBJECT

The object of this home is to learn how to serve the motherland and to serve it

### DIVISIONS

This home is divided into three classes —Managers, Candidates and Students

#### (1) MANAGERS

Managers believe that in order to learn how to serve the country, the following observances should be enforced in their own lives, and they have been doing so for some time

##### 1 THE VOW OF TRUTH

It is not enough that one ordinarily does not resort to untruth, one ought to know that no deception may be practised even for the good of the country, that Truth may require opposition to one's parents and elders. Consider the example of Prahlad

##### 2 THE VOW OF AHIMSA (NON KILLING )

It is not enough not to take the life of any living being. The follower of this Vow may not hurt even those whom he believes to be unjust, he may not be angry with them, he must love them, thus he would oppose the tyranny whether of parents governments or others but will never hurt the tyrant. The follower of Truth and Ahimsa will conquer the tyrant by love, he will not carry out the tyrant's will but he will suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is conquered

##### 3 THE VOW OF CELIBACY

It is well nigh impossible to observe the foregoing two vows unless celibacy is also observed, for this vow it is not enough that one does not look upon another woman with a lustful eye, he has so to control his animal passions that they will not be moved even

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\* A translation of the Gujarati draft constitution

in thought if he is married he will not have a carnal mind regarding his wife, but considering her as his life long friend will establish with her the relationship of perfect purity

#### 4 CONTROL OF THE PALATE

Until one has overcome the pleasures of the palate it is difficult to observe the foregoing Vows, more especially that of celibacy. Control of the Palate is therefore treated as a separate observance. One desirous of serving the country will believe that eating is necessary only for sustaining the body, he will, therefore daily regulate and purify his diet and will either gradually or immediately in accordance with his ability leave off such foods as may tend to stimulate animal passions or are otherwise unnecessary

#### 5 THE VOW OF NON-STEALING

It is not enough not to steal what is commonly considered as other men's property. It is theft if we use articles which we do not really need. Nature provides from day to day just enough and no more for our daily needs

#### 6 THE VOW OF NON-POSSESSION

It is not enough not to possess and keep much, but it is necessary not to keep anything which may not be absolutely necessary for our bodily wants. Thus if one can do without chairs one should do so. The follower of this vow will, therefore, by constantly thinking hereof, simplify his life

#### SUBSIDIARY OBSERVANCES

Two observances are deduced from the foregoing

##### 1 STADESHI

It is inconsistent with Truth to use articles about which or about their makers there is a possibility of deception. Therefore, for instance, a votary of Truth will not use articles manufactured in the mills of Manchester, Germany or India for he does not know that there is no deception about them. More or less labourers suffer much in the mills. Use of fire in the mill causes enormous destruction of life besides killing labourers before their time. Foreign goods and goods made on means of complicated machinery are therefore tabooed to a votary of Ahimsa. Further reflection will show that use of such goods will involve a breach of the vows of non-stealing and non-possession. We wear foreign goods in preference to simple goods made in our own handloom because custom attracts greater demand to them. Artificial raising of the price of a handloom or a Banarshahi, he will therefore avoid the use of artificial simple goods. Therefore the vow of Stadeshi requires the use of simple and simply made clothing and the

exclusive and even buttons, foreign cuts, etc., and so will Swadeshi be applied to every department of life.

## 2. FEARLESSNESS

He who is acted upon by fear can hardly follow Truth or Ahimsa. Managers will therefore endeavour to be free from the fear of kings, people, evil, famine, thieves, robbers, ferocious animals such as tigers and even death. A truly fearless man will defend himself against evil by truth-force or soul force.

## VISACULARS

It is the belief of the managers that non-violence can make real progress by abandoning its own linguistic, they will, therefore, train themselves through the medium of their respective vernaculars and as they desire to be on terms of intimacy with their brethren from all parts of India they will learn the chief Indian languages, and as Sanskrit is the key to all the Indian languages they will learn that also.

## HAND LABOUR

Managers believe that bodily labour is a duty imposed by nature upon mankind. We may, therefore, resort to bodily labour alone for our sustenance and use our mental and spiritual powers for the common good only and as the largest percentage in the world lives upon agriculture managers will devote some part of their time to working on the land and when such is not possible perform some other bodily labour.

## HAND LOOMS

Managers believe that one of the chief causes of poverty in the land is the virtual disappearance of cotton spinning wheels and hand looms. They will, therefore, make a great effort to revive this industry by working upon hand-looms themselves.

## POLITICS

Politics, economic progress, etc., are not considered to be independent branches of learning but that they are all rooted in religion. An effort will therefore be made to learn Politics, Economics, Social Reform, etc., in a religious spirit, and work in connection with these matters will be taken up by the managers with energy and devotion.

## (2) CANDIDATES

Those who are desirous of following out the foregoing programme but are not able immediately to take the necessary vows may be admitted as candidates. It is obligatory upon them to conform to the observances referred to above, though they do not

take the vows, whilst they are in the Ashram and they will occupy the status of managers when they are able to take the necessary vows

### (3) STUDENTS

1 Any children whether boys or girls from four years and upwards may be admitted

2 Parents will have to surrender all control over their children

3 Children may not be permitted to visit their parents until the whole course of study is finished

4 Students will be taught to observe all the vows observable by the managers

5 They will be taught principles of religion, agriculture, hand loom weaving and literature

6 Literary knowledge will be imparted through the respective vernaculars of the students and will include History, Geography, Mathematics, Economics, etc. learning of Sanskrit, Hindi and at least one Dravidian Vernacular is obligatory

7 English will be taught as a second language

8 They will be taught Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, and Devanagiri characters

9 Managers believe that the whole course will be completed in ten years. Upon reaching the age of majority students will be given the option of taking the vows referred to in section 1 or retire from the Asram, if its programme has not commended itself to them

10 This option they will exercise when no longer they will require the assistance of their parents or other guardians

11 Every endeavour will be made to teach the students from the very beginning not to have the fear "what shall I do for my maintenance if and when I become an independent man"

12 Grown up persons also may be admitted as students

13 As a rule simplest and the same style of clothing will be worn by all

14 Food will be simple. Chillies will be excluded altogether and no condiments will be used generally except salt, pepper and turmeric. Milk and its products being a hindrance to a celibate life and milk being often a cause of tuberculosis, and having the same stimulating qualities as meat will be most sparingly used if at all. Food will be served thrice. In it dried and fresh fruits will be liberally used. All in the Ashram will be taught principles of Hygiene

15 There will be no vacation in this Ashram and no holidays as a rule but during 1½ days per week the ordinary routine

will be altered and students will have leisure to attend to their private personal work

16 During 3 months in the year those whose health permits will be enabled to travel mostly on foot in the different parts of India

17 No fees will be charged either against students or candidates but parents or members themselves will be expected to contribute as much as they can towards the expenses of the Ashram

#### MISCELLANEOUS

The management will be controlled solely by the managers. The chief manager will control all admissions. The expenses of conducting the Ashram are being met from moneys already received by the chief manager and being received from friends who are more or less believers in this Ashram. The Ashram is situated in 2 houses on the banks of the Sabarmati, Ahmedabad. It is expected that in a few months about 100 acres of ground will be acquired for locating the Ashram thereon.

#### NOTICE.

Visitors are requested during their stay at the Ashram to observe as nearly as possible the rules of the Ashram. Every endeavour will be made to make them comfortable, but they will confer upon the management a favour if they will bring with them their bedding and eating utensils. Those parents who intend sending their children to the Ashram are advised to visit the Ashram. No children will be admitted without being thoroughly examined as to their mental and moral condition.

## II THE HINDU MAHOMEDAN PROBLEM

The following is an extract from a Gujarati letter addressed by Mr. Gandhi, to a Mahomedan correspondent

I never realise any distinction between a Hindu and a Mahomedan. To my mind both are sons of Mother India. I know that Hindus are in a numerical majority, and that they are believed to be more advanced in knowledge and education. Accordingly, they should be glad to give way so much the more to their Mahomedan brethren. As a man of truth, I honestly believe that Hindus should yield up to the Mahomedans what the latter desire, and that they should rejoice in so doing. We can expect unity only if such mutual large heartedness is displayed. When the Hindus and Mahomedans act towards each other as blood brothers, then alone can there be unity, then only can we hope for the dawn of India.

## III MR GANDHI AT MOTIHARI

Mr Gandhi left Muzaffarpur for Motihari by the midday train on the 15th April, 1917. Next day he was served with a notice under Sec 144, Cr P Code of which the following is a copy —

Mr M K Gandhi, at present in Motihari

Whereas it has been made to appear to me from the letter of the Commissioner of the Division, copy of which is attached to this order, that your presence in any part of the district will endanger the public peace, and may lead to serious disturbance which may be accompanied by loss of life, and whereas urgency is of the utmost importance

Now therefore, I do hereby order you to abstain from remaining in this district, which you are required to leave by the next available train

(Sd) W B HEYKOCK,

16th April, 1917

District Magistrate

Champaran

Copy of the letter from the Commissioner Tirhut Division, to the District Magistrate of Champaran, dated Muzaffarpur the 13th April, 1917 —

Sir

Mr M K Gandhi has come here in response to what he describes as an insistent public demand to inquire into the conditions under which Indians work on indigo plantations and desires the help of the local administration. He came to see me this morning and I explained that relations between the planters and ryots had engaged the attention of the administration since the sixties and that we were particularly concerned with a phase of the problem in Champaran now, but it was doubtful whether the intervention of a stranger in the middle of our treatment of the case would not prove an embarrassment. I indicated the potentiality of disturbance in Champaran asked for credentials to show an insistent public demand for his enquiry and said that the matter would probably need reference to Government.

I expect that Mr Gandhi will communicate with me again before he proceeds to Champaran but have been informed since our interview that his object is agitation rather than a genuine search for knowledge and it is possible that he may proceed without further reference. I consider that there is a danger of disturbance to the public tranquillity, should he visit your district, and I

have the honour to request you to direct him by an order under Sec 144 Cr P C, to leave at once, if he should appear

I have the honour to be, etc

(Sd) L F MORSHEAD,  
Commissioner of Tirhut Division

### MR GANDHI'S REPLY

Mr Gandhi's reply to the District Magistrate, Motihari —

Sir — With reference to the order under Sec 144, Cr P C, just served upon me, I beg to state that I am sorry that you have felt called upon to issue it, and I am sorry too that the Commissioner of the Division has totally misinterpreted my position. Out of a sense of public responsibility, I feel it to be my duty to say that I am unable to leave this district, but if it so pleases the authorities, I shall submit to the order by suffering the penalty of disobedience.

I most emphatically repudiate the Commissioner's suggestion that 'my object is likely to be agitation'. My desire is purely and simply for 'a genuine search for knowledge' and this I shall continue to satisfy so long as I am left free.

I have, etc,

16th April, 1917

(Sd) M K GANDHI

Mr Gandhi appeared before the Deputy Magistrate on Wednesday, the 18th instant. He read the statement printed below, and being asked to plead and finding that the case was likely to be unnecessarily prolonged, pleaded guilty. The Magistrate would not award the penalty but postponed judgment till 3 p m. Meanwhile he was asked to see the superintendent and then the District Magistrate. The result was that he agreed not to go out to the villages pending instructions from the Government as to their view of his mission. The case was then postponed up to Saturday April 21.

### MR GANDHI'S STATEMENT

The following is the text of Mr Gandhi's statement before the Court —

With the permission of the Court I would like to make a brief statement showing why I have taken the very serious step of seemingly disobeying the order made under S 144 of the Cr P C. In my humble opinion it is a question of difference of opinion between the local administration and myself. I have entered the country with motives of rendering humanitarian and national service. I have done so in response to a pressing invitation to come and help the ryots, who urge they are not being fairly treated by the mango planters. I could not render any help without studying

the problem I have, therefore, come to study it with assistance if possible, of the administration and the planters. I have no other motive and I cannot believe that my coming here can, in any way, disturb public peace or cause loss of life. I claim to have considerable experience in such matters. The administration, however, have thought differently. I fully appreciate their difficulty and I admit too, that they can only proceed upon information they receive. As a law-abiding citizen, my first impulse would be as it was, to obey the order served upon me. I could not do so without doing violence to my sense of duty to those for whom I came. I feel that I could just now serve them only by remaining in their midst. I could not, therefore, voluntarily retire. Amid this conflict of duty I could only throw the responsibility of removing me from them on the administration. I am fully conscious of the fact that a person, holding in the public life of India a position such as I do has to be most careful in setting examples. It is my firm belief, that in the complex constitution under which we are living, the only safe and honourable course for a self-respecting man is, in the circumstances such as face me, to do what I have decided to do, that is to submit without protest to the penalty of disobedience. I have ventured to make this statement not in any way in exculpation of the penalty to be awarded against me, but to show that I have disregarded no order served upon me, nor for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience to the higher law of our being—the voice of conscience.

NOTE.—The notice was however withdrawn.

#### IV. MR. GANDHI AND HIS DRESS.\*

I have hitherto successfully resisted the temptation of either answering your or Mr. Irwin's criticism of the humble work I am doing in Champaran. Nor am I going to succumb now except with regard to a matter which Mr. Irwin has thought fit to dwell upon and about which he has not even taken the trouble of being correctly informed. I refer to his remarks on my manner of dressing.

It is familiar to all who have been to any part of western civilisation to see and to hear the best international dress and to may in it. Mr. Irwin is not a native of India. I wear in Champaran the dress I have always worn in India except that for a very short period in India I fell in with custom in common with the rest of my countrymen in wearing some European dress in the courts and elsewhere outside Champaran. I appeared before the Patilwar court on 21st March 1920 in precisely the dress I wear in Champaran.

\* A reply to Mr. Irwin's criticism in the *Pioneer* during the Champaran enquiry.

One change I have made and it is that having taken to the occupation of weaving and agriculture and having taken the vow of Swadeshi, my clothing is now entirely hand woven and hand sewn and made by me or my fellow workers. Mr Irwin's letter suggests that I appear before the ryots in a dress I have temporarily and specially adopted in Champaran to produce an effect. The fact is that I wear the national dress because it is the most natural and the most becoming for an Indian. I believe that our copying of the European dress is a sign of our degradation, humiliation and our weakness, and that we are committing a national sin in discarding a dress which is best suited to the Indian climate and which for its simplicity, art and cheapness is not to be beaten on the face of the earth and which answers hygienic requirements. Had it not been for a false pride and equally false notions of prestige, Englishmen here would long ago have adopted the Indian costume. I may mention incidentally that I do not go about Champaran bare-headed. I do avoid shoes for sacred reasons. But I find too that it is more natural and healthier to avoid them whenever possible.

## V THE MEMORIAL TO MR MONTAGU

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*The Guzerat Sabha of Ahmedabaa under the direction of Mr M K Gandhi devised an excellent idea of presenting a monster petition to the Rt Hon Mr Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, and H E the Viceroy in 1917, supporting the Congress League scheme of Self Government for India. The idea was taken up by the leading political organizations in India. The following is the English translation of the Gujerati petition —*

To the Rt Hon Mr E S Montagu Secretary of State for India

The petition of the British Subjects of Gujarat —

Humoly sheweth,—

(1) The petitioners have considered and understood the Swaraj Scheme prepared by the Council of the All India Moslem League and the All-India Congress Committee and unanimously adopted last year by the Indian National Congress and the All India Moslem League

(2) The petitioners approve of the scheme

(3) In the humble opinion of the petitioners the reforms proposed in the aforementioned scheme are absolutely necessary in the interests of India and the Empire

(4) It is further the Petitioner's belief that without such reforms India will not witness the era of true contentment

For these reasons the Petitioners respectfully pray that you will be pleased to give full consideration to and accept the reform proposals and thus render successful your visit taken at great inconvenience and fulfil the national hope

And for this act of kindness, the Petitioners shall, for ever, remain grateful

## RULES FOR VOLUNTEERS

*Mr Gandhi also devised the following rules for the Volunteers to obtain signatures*

1 In taking signatures to the petition first it must be ascertained whether the person signing correctly understands the scheme described in the petition or not

2 In order to take people understand the scheme, it should be read out to the inhabitants of the place called together by a notification prepared by the Sabha. If in such reading, the people raise any new question, which cannot be answered out of the Foreword then the Volunteer should not decide the point himself but should refer it to the Chief of his own Circle and the questioner should not be allowed to sign so long as he has not been satisfied

I am of opinion that the legal prohibition should continue. I think, however, that the prohibition has not succeeded in preventing Indians, who have wanted it, from obtaining liquor. The only use I see in continuing the prohibition is to let those of my countrymen who indulge in it, retain the sense of shame they have in drinking liquor. They know that it is wrong for them, both in religion and in law, to obtain and drink liquor. This enables temperance workers to appeal to their law-abiding sentiment. I draw a fundamental distinction between wrongful law breaking and a conscientious breach of man made law in obedience to a higher law. Happily, those Indians who break the liquor law know that it is wrong for them to do so.

I am aware that some of my countrymen—themselves ardent temperance men—see in the liquor legislation one more disqualification based on the ground of colour. Superficially speaking, they would be right, but I believe that this legislation has little to do with colour. It is in my opinion a recognition on the part of the predominant race that the drink habit is an evil which, while they themselves are unable to get rid of it, they do not want other races to contract. Viewing the position in this manner, I believe liquor prohibition among the Asiatic and coloured races to be the forerunner of general prohibition.

Whether, however, general prohibition becomes an accomplished fact or not, so long as the predominant race continue to indulge in alcoholic drinks, be it never so moderately, partial prohibition such as we now have cannot be of much practical use. This, it is submitted, is a forcible illustration of one of the evil incidents of contact between the European and other races. And unless those who preach abstinence are themselves ready to practice it, all liquor legislation must largely be a makeshift. I wish the Commission could see their way to point out to the electors of the Transvaal what a serious responsibility rests upon their shoulders. They make it impossible for their representatives to pass legislation that is so desirable. It is they who must take the responsibility for the breaking up of many a home. I am writing under a full sense of my own responsibility. I know only too well how many Indian youths, who never knew the taste of spirituous liquors, have succumbed, after having come to South Africa or the Transvaal.

claimed to be a citizen—was due to Mr Gokhale (*Cheers*) This South African question was not a new one to him, but they loved him not only for his interest in that question, but because of his life's work. Although he was a candid critic of the Indian Government he was also a friend to it (*Applause*) He thought it a hopeful sign that they had this representative gathering over which the Mayor of the city presided. And the hospitality accorded to Mr Gokhale showed that though there had been hard knocks given between the European and Indian communities, there was no bitterness. In every town where these meetings were to be held the Mayors had signified their intentions to preside. Mr Gokhale had come to help them in bringing the two peoples closer together, and his mission would let them know that behind this country was another, in which the people were watching its representatives in this country. They knew his Highness the Aga Khan was expected to arrive some time next year in connection with this same question. The British Indian Association had only just received a letter from His Highness, in which he expressed his intention of arriving in South Africa to study the question at first hand, in so far as it affected his countrymen here. But he (Mr Gandhi) wished to utter one word of warning, and it was this: that many of them had, in their ignorance, false expectations that Mr Gokhale's visit would act as a charm, and that all their disabilities would disappear. He hoped his countrymen would not have those expectations or, if they had them, that they would dismiss them. Mr Gokhale was certainly going to assist them, but they had to remember that there was nothing so valuable as self help (*Applause*). They would have to work out their own salvation, and men like Mr Gokhale and Mr Schreiner could only point the way to the solution, and make the path easy. They could get nothing that they could not deserve, and it was only when the time came that they would reap the reward of their past actions (*Loud applause*).

[ *At the Banquet at the Town Hall at Kimberley in supporting the toast proposed by the Mayor in honour of Mr Gokhale Mr Gandhi who was cordially received said —*

He thought they might well drink the toast of the guest of the evening if what Mr Onver who was good enough to pay them a visit had playfully said with true names that Mr Gokhale had brought with him the much needed rain which the parched in the Kimberley required so badly. He only hoped that rain had reached Johannesburg and not merely Johannesburg because he lived there out throughout the whole Union. We Indians were supposed to be a superstitious nation and he had no doubt many of his countrymen would share his (the speaker's) superstition that Mr Gokhale had brought with him that much needed rain (*Applause*). He thought there was another reason also why this toast might be commended to both their European friends who had been good enough to respond to the invitation issued by the

reception committee, as also to his countermen, and it was this that Mr Oats was good enough to take the guest of the evening, together with his following over his great mine, and when he took them over those huge pieces of machinery he (Mr Gandhi) could not help thinking what a great thing it was. Some of his (Mr Gandhi's) friends present at this function knew he was no believer in machinery. He for one was quite willing to admit that he could have done with Kimberley even had there been no diamonds and no machinery. He was no believer in millions and in diamonds, but he realised that he was now before "Diamond Kings" and he therefore bowed his head before them. One thing struck him forcibly when watching that machinery, and that was that if they as human beings worked so well together as this marvellous piece of machinery, what a happy family they would be. Then, indeed their swords would be beaten into ploughshares, and the lions would certainly lie down with the lambs. He also felt that if one nut in that piece of machinery went loose, it was possible for the whole machinery to become disjointed, and to carry that analogy to human beings, they had seen so often that one obstreperous man could break up a whole meeting, and one rogue in a family could damage the reputation of that family. Similarly, to take the reverse position, if the chief part of the machinery did its work regularly they found the other pieces working in harmony without being disjointed. He (Mr Gandhi) regarded Mr Gokhale's mission as a holy one and it was a matter of pride to him that Mr Gokhale had been instrumental in bringing about such a happening in Kimberley as a meeting of the most representative Europeans and Indians at a common board. He hoped such gatherings would be multiplied. As a humble student of the life and teachings of Tolstoy, he felt also that functions like that were unnecessary, and that they sometimes did a great deal of mischief if only by way of interfering with one's digestion (*Lazarus*). But although a student of Tolstoy, for the time being he was prepared to reconcile himself to those functions even, if they brought them together, and if they enabled them to know each other better when the hymn,

We shall know each other better,

When the mists, have rolled away,

and though they might have their differences they would know each other better when the mists of ignorance had rolled away. His distinguished counterman had come to South Africa in order to dispel those mists of ignorance. He had come as the brightest jewel that India could present to them. He (Mr Gandhi) knew that he deeply wounded Mr Gokhale's susceptibilities whenever he made mention of what he had done but he (Mr Gandhi) had to perform a duty, though painful to him. There was no one who

could tell him so much of Mr Gokhale as he could about his life in the political arena of India. He it was who gave twenty years of his life to the cause of Education for a mere pittance. Even to day Mr Gokhale lived in poverty, although he could command riches. Hundreds of pounds were always at his disposal whenever he wanted them for public institutions. A Vice roy of India carried the burden of Empire on his shoulder for five years (unless he was a Lord Curzon and then held office for seven) and even then had a train of workers to assist him, but here was a distinguished countryman of his carrying the burden of Empire on his shoulders unaided and unassisted and undecorated. True, he carried the C I E, but in his opinion he was worth a much better decoration. The decoration that Mr Gokhale loved best was his love for his countrymen and the approval of his own conscience. To those Indians who were educated with Western ideas he had given a lesson in humility and gentleness (*Applause*)

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## APPERCIATIONS.

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### COUNT LEO TOLSTOY

"I have just received your most interesting letter, which has given me great pleasure. God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal! That same struggle of the tender against the harsh of meekness and love against pride and violence, is every year making itself more and more felt here among us also, especially in one of the very sharpest of the conflicts of the religious law with the worldly laws in refusals of Military Service. Such refusals are becoming ever more and more frequent

I greet you fraternally and am glad to have intercourse with you " (Letter to Mr Gandhi)

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### G K GOKHALE

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My second observation will be about my dear and illustrious friend Mr Gandhi. Ladies and gentlemen only those who have come in personal contact with Mr Gandhi as he is now, can realise the wonderful personality of the man. He is without doubt made of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made. Nay more. He has in him the marvellous spiritual power to turn ordinary men around him into heroes and martyrs. During the



### ‘LORD HARDINGE

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You have urged in your Address that retaliatory measures should be taken by the Government of India but you have not attempted to state the particular measures which, in your opinion should be adopted. As you are aware, we forbade indentured emigration to Natal in 1911, and the fact that the Natal planters sent a delegate over to India, to beg for a reconsideration of that measure, shows how hardly it hit them.

But I am afraid it has had but little effect upon South Africa as a whole, and it is unfortunately, not easy to find means by which India can make her indignation seriously felt by those who hold the reins of Government in that country.

Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands, by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust, an opinion which we who watch their struggles from afar cannot but share. They have violated, as they intended to violate, those laws, with full knowledge of the penalties involved and ready with all courage and patience to endure those penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India—deep and burning—and not only of India, but of all those who, like myself, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country.

But the most recent developments have taken a very serious turn, and we have seen the widest publicity given to allegations that this movement of passive resistance has been dealt with by measures which could not for a moment be tolerated in any country that claims to call itself civilised. These allegations have been met by a categorical denial from the responsible Government of South Africa though even their denial contains admissions which do not seem to me to indicate that the Union Government have exercised a very wise discretion in some of the steps which they have adopted. That is the position at the moment, and I do feel that if the South African Government desire to justify themselves in the eyes of India and the world only one course is open to them, and that is to appoint a strong and impartial Committee, upon which Indian interests shall be fully represented to conduct a thorough and searching enquiry into the truth of these allegations and as the *communiqué* that has appeared in this morning's papers will show you, I have no hesitated to present that view upon the Secretary of State. Now that according to the telegraphic accounts received in this country from South Africa such disorder as arose has completely ceased. I trust that the Government of the Union will fully realise the imperative necessity of treating a loyal section of their fellow subjects in a spirit of equity and in accordance with their rights as free citizens of the British Empire. You may rest assured that the Government of India will not cease to urge these considerations upon

His Majesty's Government — *Speech in reply to the addresses of the Mahajana Sabha and Provincial Congress Committee at Maaras, December 1913*

### LORD AMPHILL

Mr Duke does not pretend to give more than a short biography and character sketch of Mr Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the leader of the Indian Community in the Transvaal, but the importance of the book is due to the facts that men and matters are inseparably connected in all human affairs, in particular ever depends on a knowledge of the character and motives of those who direct them.

The subject of the sketch, Mr Gandhi, has been denounced in this country, even by responsible persons, as an ordinary agitator, there have not even been wanting suggestions that his motives are those of self interest and pecuniary profit

A perusal of these pages ought to dispel any such notions from the mind of any fair man who has been misled into entertaining them. And with a better knowledge of the man there must come a better knowledge of the matter

I have no more earnest hope than that Mr Gandhi and his fellow countrymen may see the accomplishment of that end, for which they have struggled so bravely and sacrificed so much, before this book is published

*From the Introduction to Rev Mr Duke's book 'An Indian Patriot in South Africa'*

### THE LORD BISHOP OF MADRAS

I have spoken so far as an Englishman, taught from my childhood to hate tyranny and to regard it as a sacred duty to stand up for the oppressed and persecuted, to whatever race or country they belong. May I say just a very few words as a Christian. I feel all the more indignant at the cruel injustice on the Indians in South Africa just because it is inflicted by men who profess to be disciples and followers of Jesus Christ. Tyranny is hateful in any case. It is doubly hateful when exercised by Christians in direct defiance of their creed and in flagrant opposition to the whole teaching and example of Him whom they acknowledge as their Lord and their God. I frankly confess, though it deeply grieves me to say it, that I see in Mr Gandhi, the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy, a

truer representative of the Crucified Saviour, than the men who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ (loud applause)—*Speech at the Y M C A Auditorium, December, 1913*

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### SENATOR W P SCHREINER

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He had great pleasure in testifying here that among the pure-spirited men who worked for no gain, no profit, many kicks, but with high ideals, they could recommend themselves to Mr Gandhi. An unselfish man, one whom, he was proud to say, he recognised as a member of the profession to which he himself belonged, and one who in any other calling might have made great gains. In going round with Mr Gandhi he believed Mr Gokhale would be introduced, without any bias and bitterness, to the problems in detail which he would have to meet"—*Speech at the Cape Town Meeting presided over by the Mayor to present welcome addresses to Mr Gokhale, Oct 22, 1912*

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### REV JOSEPH DOKE

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I write this in the house in which he usually lives when in Johannesburg. Yonder is the open stoop—there is the rolled up mattress on which he sleeps. It would be difficult to imagine a life less open to the assaults of pride or sloth, than the life lived here. Everything that can minister to the flesh is abjured. Of all men Mr Gandhi reminds one of Purum Dass", of whom Kipling writes —

"He had used his wealth and his power for what he knew both to be worth. he had taken honour when it came in his way, he had seen men and cities far and near and men and cities had stood up and honoured him. Now he would let these things go as a man drops the cloak he needs no longer." This is a graphic picture of our friend. He simply does what he believes to be his duty, accepts every experience that ensues with calmness, takes honour if it comes without pride and then, lets it go as a man drops the cloak he needs no longer." In the position of "Purum Bhagat," he would do easily what the Bhagat did, and no one even now would be surprised to see him go forth at some call which no one else can hear, his crutch under his arm, his begging

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bowl in his hand an antelope skin slung around him, and a smile of deep content on his lips

"That man alone is wise  
Who keeps the mastery of himself "  
*From a "An Indian Patriot in South Africa."*

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### MRS SARAJINI NAIDU.

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She sat by her husband's side, simple and serene and dignified in the hour of triumph as she had proved herself simple and serene and dauntless in the hour of trial and tragedy.

I have a vision too of her brave, frail, pain worn hand which must have held aloft the lamp of her country's honour undimmed in one alien land, working at rough garments for wounded soldiers in another

The great South African leader who, to quote Mr Gokhale's apt phrase, had moulded heroes out of clay, was reclining, a little ill and weary, on the floor eating his frugal meal of nuts and fruit (which I shared) and his wife was busy and content as though she were a mere modest housewife absorbed in a hundred details of household service, and not the world famed heroine of a hundred noble sufferings in a nation's cause

*[From letter to Lady Mehta on Mrs. Gandhi, February 1915 ]*

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### SIR P M MEHTA.

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"The whole country has resounded with the tale of Mr Gandhi's great deeds, his courage, his great moral qualities, his labours, and his sufferings in the cause of Indians in South Africa So long as we have Indians like Mr Gandhi and Indian women like Mrs Gandhi we need not despair of our country They show that at the proper time and on occasion may arise they are possessed of the highest qualities of courage, heroism and capacity of endurance and suffering"—*At the Bombay Town Hall Meeting in December, 1912*

I tell you what I feel sincerely that there has been no more touching episode in the whole history of the campaign than the conversation which Mrs Gandhi had with her husband before she cast in her lot with him in the Passive Resistance Movement,

After the decision of the Supreme Court there denying the legitimacy of Hindu and Mahomedan marriages, she asked him "Am I your wife or not? I am not your wife if this decision stands, and if I am not your wife, I am not a woman of any true womanhood in the estimation of my own sex, and my children are illegitimate. Mr Gandhi must have known what it was to expose tender women to the hardships of the campaign, but in spite of his pleading, that brave lady decided to cast in her lot with those men who were fighting for the cause. History records the deeds of many heroines and I feel that Mrs Gandhi will stand as one of the foremost heroines in the whole world — *Speech at the Bombay Town Hall Meeting, December 1913,*

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### MR H S L POLAK.

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His simplicity is extreme. He is a devoted follower of Tolstoy and Ruskin in their appeal for a simpler life, and himself lives the life of an ascetic eating the simplest fruits of the earth sleeping often on a piece of sackcloth on the bare earth in the open air, and he cares nothing for personal appearance. He has reduced himself to a condition of voluntary poverty, and he has entirely abandoned the practice of law, believing that he cannot consistently obtain his livelihood from a profession that derives its sanctions from physical force. He acknowledges no binding ties of kin or custom, but only of the obligation of his own conscience. Ram Krishna tested his freedom from caste prejudice by sweeping out a pariah's hut with his own hair. Mohandas Gandhi has tested his by tending the wounds of a Brute savage with his own hands. With him the spirit of religion is everything, the world and its opinion nothing. He does not know how to distinguish Hindu from Mahomedan, Christian from infidel. To him all alike are brothers, fragments of the Divine, fellow spirits struggling for expression. All he has he gives. With him, self-surrender and absolute sacrifice are demands of his very nature. His deep spirituality influences all around so that no man dares to commit evil in his presence. He lives in the happiness of his friends, but he does not hesitate to create a condition of spiritual unrest in them when he conceives it his duty to point out the right and condemn the wrong. He cannot condone falsehood, but he reproves and rebukes lovingly. Indeed, love is his only weapon against evil. He sees God in every living thing, and therefore loves all mankind and the whole animal world. He is strictly vegetarian not because of orthodoxy, but because he cannot cause the death of any creature and because he believes that life is of

God In faith he is probably nearer in touch with pure Jainism or Buddhism than any other creed, though no formal creed can really hold him To him all is God, and from that reality he deduces his whole line of conduct Perhaps, in this generation, India has not produced such a noble man—saint, patriot, statesman in one

He lives for God and for India His one desire is to see unity amongst his fellow countrymen His every endeavour in South Africa was directed to showing the possibility of Indian national unity and the lines upon which the national edifice should be constructed His winning manners, pleasant smile, and refreshing candour and originality of thought and action mark him out as a leader of men But those who know him best recognise in him the religious teacher, the indicator of God, the inspiring example of "a pure, holy soul," as he has been called by the Rev F B Meyer, the modesty, humility and utter self abnegation of whose life provide a lesson for all who have eyes to see, ears to hear, and an understanding spirit

How he starved and fasted and sought to purify his physical nature, is to tell the story of a man to whom self-suffering is a daily joy and delight And he did not subdue his body at the cost of his spirituality, as is the habit of so many self-tormentors, but his soul grew in exaltation as he felt himself free to express his higher nature and to devote greater energy to the service of his countrymen He has been a true Bhakta, a devotee of the most earnest and humble type Praise has always been painful and distasteful to him, though he has been lavish of it as regards his fellow workers.


Every action of his life has been performed in the service of that Divine Essence that has so profoundly permeated his own being—from the grinding of wheat in his own home to the planting of fruit trees, the teaching of little children and the serving of his countrymen at the Kumbha Mela, at Hardwar

It is the majestic personality of the man, Mohandas Gandhi, that overshadows his comparatively insignificant physique One feels oneself in the presence of a moral giant whose pellucid soul is a clear, still lake, in which one sees Truth clearly mirrored His is the meekness that has turned away wrath a thousand times, and that has disarmed opponents even when most hostile Unarmed for war, he yet has conquered peace, for his weapons have been the age-old arms of moral fervour, calm determination, spiritual exaltation sacrifice of the lower self, service of his fellow men, lowliness, steadfastness, and an overwhelming love bestowed equally upon every living thing A movement with such a man at its heart could not but succeed, and so the Passive Resistance struggle came to an end and freed its greatest exponent for still greater service on a wider stage Meanwhile, he has fixed the

lines of growth of his countrymen in South Africa, indicated the path and means of patriotic development for his countrymen in the Motherland, rallied the best of European sentiment to the South African Indian cause, developed the possibilities of Passive Resistance, and added yet one more name to the Golden Scroll of those who have deserved well of their country and of mankind.

Yet this is not the whole man. You cannot say this is he that is he. All that you can say with certainty is that he is here, he is there. Everywhere his influence reigns, his authority rules, his elusive personality pervades, and this must be so, for it is true of all great men that they are incalculable, beyond definition. They partake of the nature of the Illimitable and the Eternal from which they have sprung and to which they are bound. With their feet firm set on earth and their hands amongst the stars, they are pointers of the way to those who search, encouragers of the faint and weary, inspirers of those breathing in deep draughts of hope.

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